

---

Volume 26

Number 1 *People and Environment: Conservation and  
Management of Natural Resources across the Himalaya*  
No. 1 & 2

Article 30

---

2006

## 11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS)

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/himalaya>

---

### Recommended Citation

(2006) "11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS)," *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*: Vol. 26: No. 1, Article 30.

Available at: <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/himalaya/vol26/iss1/30>

This Other is brought to you for free and open access by the DigitalCommons@Macalester College at DigitalCommons@Macalester College. It has been accepted for inclusion in Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@Macalester College. For more information, please contact [scholarpub@macalester.edu](mailto:scholarpub@macalester.edu).

# 11th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS)

August 26 - September 2, 2006 Königswinter, Germany

## Abstracts related to Nepal, India, and Bhutan

### Leh and Lhasa – comparative study of architecture and condition of two historic cities with Tibetan cultural and architectural characteristics

Alexander, André, Tibet Heritage Foundation

The early origins of Leh, capital of the former Tibetan kingdom of Ladakh, are still largely unknown. The historic centre preserved today dates to the 17th century, including the nine-storied royal palace, and clusters of residential buildings and chapels framed by remnants of rammed earth city walls and stupa gateways. The paper gives a brief overview about the urban histories of Leh and Lhasa, and compares the major types of extant residential and religious buildings. The richer houses bear strong artistic links to the noble houses of Lhasa, but after 1947 (independence of India) and 1951 the links between Lhasa and Leh were severed, ending (at least until now) more than a millennium of cultural interchange. Both cities went different paths in their economic and social development. On the basis of the strong cultural and architectural similarities, the paper compares the present condition of the historic centres, the amount of preserved historic fabric and existing conservation policies. The artistic heritage of both cities will be presented in the form of photographs, maps and

survey drawings.

### “Will you buy my yaks? I want to open a tea-shop in Gangtok?” The crises of roots and routes among the yak-herders of Lhonak valley of North Sikkim, India

Arora, Vibha, Independent Scholar

The analysis of the relation between roots and routes among the contemporary Tibetan (in-exile) yak herders living on the Indo-Tibetan border in North Sikkim, is guided by viewing “human location as constituted by displacement as much by stasis” (Clifford 1997:2). The land-mined areas of the Indo-Tibetan border in North Sikkim are inhabited either by the Indian army or some Tibetan yak-herders who settled here after China annexed Tibet. The paper discusses the identity of the Lhonakpa yak-herders that is constituted by their usufruct grazing rights to a route and their propitiation of the gzhi bdag at the Lhonak valley in Lachen, North Sikkim. I conducted short-term fieldwork among the Lhonakpa during June-July 2002, after getting rare permission from the government of Sikkim and the Indian army to undertake fieldwork in this ‘prohibited entry’ war zone of the Indo-Tibetan border. The Lhonakpa are not ordinary yak-herders as even the gnas yig to Sikkim elucidates their role and responsibility to propitiate the deities guarding the Northern door to sbas yul 'Bras mo gshongs in their annual

festival performed during Drukpa Tseshi at Lhonak valley. The identity of the Lhonakpa is determined not by their emplacement or roots in land, but by their periodic displacement which sustained their rights over a traditional grazing-trade route between North Sikkim and Kham in Tibet. However, the Chinese annexation of Tibet and the closure of the Indo-Tibetan border severely curtailed this route and disrupted their 'periodic displacement' while simultaneously transforming them into 'permanently displaced Tibetan refugees' in Sikkim. The shifting landmines of the Indo-Tibetan border do not discriminate between their human (Tibetan yak-herders and Indian army) or animal victims. The Indian army have their set of grievances, but these are not the focus of the present paper. The paper discusses the contemporary crises of roots and routes among the Lhonakpa community: a demographic crises for a community that has dwindled to 7 families; a political crises of being Tibetans in exile in Sikkim while their government is situated at Dharamsala and hence their voice is muted; an economic crises, as the physical hardships of herding yaks and the painful death of herders and their yaks in a land-mined landscape is making yak-herding an extremely unattractive occupation; and a social crises for the Lhonakpa to maintain their distinctive socio-religious identity among Tibetan yak-herders depends on their continued propitiation of the Lhonak gzhi-bdag (Pawo Ramba) during Drukpa Tseshi in the Muguthang festival. The quote in this paper's title succinctly captures the contemporary crises facing the Lhonakpa community. It is drawn from a conversation between the leader of the Lhonakpa group and the Commanding Officer of the Indian army during the annual festival (July 2002) wherein the Lhonakpa leader offered his yak-herd to the army as transport animals so that he could become a shopkeeper in Gangtok. This crisis was politico-symbolically expressed when merely 4 yaks participated in the erstwhile famed yak-races due to a lack of yak-riders. In 2002, the Lhonak valley was transformed into a cricket ground for hosting a friendly match between the Indian army and the Lhonakpa team that included some government officials (who were attending the annual festival and documenting their grievances). The lama who propitiated the Lhonak gzhi-bdag was transformed into a chief guest while I became the official photographer of this cricket-match. It has been impossible for me to subsequently visit the Lhonak valley, but I am told that they continue to be the guardians of the Northern door to Sikkim.

### **Engaging Modernity: Changing Buddhist institutions, changing practices in Ladakh**

van Beek, Martijn, Aarhus University

This paper seeks to map ways in which Buddhist organisations and institutions perceive and engage significant challenges posed by the rapid transformations of local political economy and society. Whereas several

monasteries have been very successful in seizing new economic opportunities, which together with the growing cash wealth of the laity has brought additional monetary resources for maintenance, restoration and expansion of dgon pa, recruitment and retention of monks has become a major problem. Drawing predominantly on fieldwork conducted in Ladakh, the manner in which different Buddhist institutions, belonging to different schools, are adopting new ways of securing their economic base, their systems of recruitment, training and practice, and their relations with the laity and secular authority are discussed to show the considerable variety of ways in which solutions to various challenges are sought to be achieved. Different views on the challenges to Buddhist institutions, education and practice are presented based on interviews with leading Buddhist clergy and intellectuals, as well as political activists.

### **Demographic analysis of Tibetan Buddhism in Western Himalayas**

Lal Bisotra, Rattan, Government of Himachal Pradesh

Tibetan Buddhism in western Himalayas has been studied in the past in various aspects covering vast area of socio-economic, religious and cultural fields. But how many followers of Tibetan Buddhism are there in the region and how many have been there in the past? The study of major trends in the demographic profile of population professing Tibetan Buddhism is the main focus of this paper. Is the population of this sect of Buddhism declining in this part of the Himalayas? If so, what are the main reasons? The socio-economic, religious, technological, cultural, strategical and political factors contributing to such trend are required to be studied at length.

Major portion of western Himalayas comprises of northern part of Himachal Pradesh state and Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir state of India. The people of these areas are now openly exposed to the world outside their geographical areas due to recent liberal tourism policy. In Himachal Pradesh, the people of Lahaul and Spiti and Kinnaur districts in the past, had been confined to their geographical limits due to lack of road and aerial communications. Except few persons migrating seasonally from Lahaul valley to Kullu valley or some persons with their sheep herds from Kinnaur to other parts of Himachal and Uttar Pradesh or some able bodied persons on pilgrimages on traditional and difficult routes, majority of population hardly came out of their villages and districts. Therefore, their mini world was their villages, social, cultural and religious beliefs and practices untainted by the worldly affairs.

The Sino-Indian conflict in 1962 paved the way for developing these areas from strategical point of view. The Indian National Highway No. 22 (Shimla Kaurik national highway) towards Kinnaur district and National Highway No. 21 (manali-Leh road) were improved to facilitate

movement and deployment of the Indian army in these areas. This also allowed the people to use transport system provided by the state governments of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir resulting in more exposure outside their areas and socio-cultural exchange with the people in other parts of the country. The Ladakh was given some autonomy through the regional council by the Jammu and Kashmir government. District Lahaul and Spiti was transferred from the Punjab to Himachal Pradesh in November, 1966. Since these two districts of Himachal Pradesh are the tribal districts, special attention is given to these areas for overall development. Special funds are allocated by the state and central governments for the social, economic, cultural, educational and infrastructural development of these areas. This all started in the beginning of seventies of the last century. Most of these tribal areas in Himachal and parts of Jammu and Kashmir areas (particularly the Ladakh region) were restricted to Indian and foreign tourists and visitors. These restrictions were largely removed by the Government of India in 1991-92. Since then, thousands of tourists, research scholars and film makers have been thronging these areas every summer and autumn. This has given opportunity to the people of these areas to mix with people coming from other areas. The electronic media viz. Radio, television (particularly the cable TV network) since early nineties has brought about revolutionary changes in the food habits, dresses and thinking etc. One important impact of these contributing factors has also resulted in change in thinking about the religion they have been professing for centuries. The youths have been impressed religious practices and faith in Hinduism. The sub-sects of Hindu religion, for example Radhaswami has opened their branches even in remotest corners of the tribal districts. Moreover, Lamas for monasteries are hardly available in Lahul and Kinnaur areas. Sometimes they have to be brought from Ladakh region. The trend also indicate an informal conversion to Hinduism.

The population religionwise is available for these areas since 1881-1991. The Indian census data of 2001 has been finalized and computerised. Other information relating to socio-cultural characteristics of the population are also available in the census reports for previous decades. The numerical and other information in census reports relating to Buddhist population of western Himalayas will form the base for the presentation. The historical perspective of other religions in these areas will also be taken into account, as these have contributed in influencing the Tibetan Buddhism in these areas in the past.

The data in respect of Tibetan refugees who have entered India in 1959 and thereafter are also available. Their study can form separate portion in the paper so that native Buddhists can be studied in historical perspective.

The demographic profile of people professing Tibetan Buddhism in western Himalayas will be useful study and help in forming the basis for sampling and other statistical techniques in future studies. The data are available from state level to the smallest administrative unit i.e. Village.

Therefore, the spatial distribution of population and other characteristics will form data base for future studies. The demographic study of this type has not been made so far.

### **Transformations in Amchi Practice in Nepal: Amchi Schools, Associations, and National Recognition**

Bista, Tenjin Sangbo, Himalayan Amchi Association

In recent decades, the number of amchi practicing and teaching students in Nepal has declined, for a number of social, political, and economic reasons such as out-migration from rural areas, shifts in education structures and opportunities for people from places in northern Nepal historically served by amchi, lack of access to medicinal texts and teachers, and, perhaps most significantly, the lack of recognition and support for amchi and Sowa Rigpa on the part of the Nepali government. Beyond this, with the increase in legal and illegal trade in medicinal ingredients in Nepal and throughout the region, medicinal ingredients are harder to procure and issues of both conservation and cultivation are crucial to the future of the practice of Sowa Rigpa in Nepal. Despite this, amchi continue to provide health care to the majority of Nepal's 7 million residents in the high mountain areas. There are also four formal schools of Sowa Rigpa in Nepal, even though none receive governmental support. These circumstances have given rise to a growing consensus among amchi in Nepal of the need to organize. The Himalayan Amchi Association (HAA), a Nepali NGO, was established in 1998 by a cohort of amchi from 14 of Nepal's 75 districts. The Association's principal goals are: to create a forum through which amchi from throughout Nepal, as well as abroad, can share knowledge and information about their histories, practices, and current socio-economic positions; to participate in research and conservation activities aimed at documenting and safeguarding the natural resources on which amchi medicine depends; to create alternative forms of and opportunities to training for novice amchi in Nepal; and to seek governmental and non-governmental support for these activities, in forms ranging from scholarships and other financial backing to more symbolic or ideological acknowledgement of amchi and Sowa Rigpa practice from within Nepal, a Hindu nation-state.

### **Tibetan Transitions: Fertility Declines in Historical, Sociocultural, and Political Perspectives**

Childs, Geoff, Washington University – St. Louis

This paper will draw together research on historical and contemporary Tibetan societies in order to (1) document fertility trends across time and space, and (2) analyze a multitude of social, cultural, economic, and political factors that have influenced those trends. The paper starts by comparing two pre-transitional societies (sKyid grong rdzong, Tibet during the 1940s and 1950s; Nubri, Nepal during the 1990s) to see how different tax systems and household strategies shaped fertility outcomes. Social class, polyandry, nonmarriage of females, and old-age care are the focal points for analysis. The paper then turns to two societies that are in the midst



of, or have recently completed, fertility transitions (Tibet Autonomous Region, China from the 1980s to the present; Tibetan exiles living in South Asia from the 1980s to the present). The focal points for analysis are changing values resulting from education, transformations in family structures and family norms resulting from economic changes, and the politics of family planning. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate how two contemporary Tibetan societies that exist under completely different sociocultural, economic, and political conditions have undergone remarkably similar demographic transitions in terms of both the onset and pace of their fertility declines.

**State, Non-governmental Organizations and Refugee:  
A Study of Their Interface in Regard to Education of  
Tibetan Refugee Children**

Choedon, Yeshi, Jawaharlal Nehru University

This paper attempts to study the contribution of India State and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) in educating the Tibetan refugee children in India. It is set in the context of international norms and standard set by the United Nations. The United Nations not only brought into existence UN Refugee Convention in 1951 but also developed elaborate international framework to deal with refugees. However, many States are hesitant to sign the convention and to accept the international monitor in regard to their treatment of the refugees. India is one such country, which has neither signed the convention nor enacted its own domestic law dealing with refugee. Yet it is the one of hosts to largest refugees in the twentieth century. India deals with the issue on the basis of administrative measures that gives scopes for discretion on the basis of its domestic or foreign policy consideration. This paper attempts to deal with how and why Indian State dealt with the Tibetan refugee in general and education of Tibetan children in particular. It attempts to highlight the uniqueness of Tibetan refugee community and why primacy is accorded to the education of Tibetan refugee children. It focus on how the INGOs, groups and individuals supplemented and complimented the efforts of India State in educating the Tibetan children and how and why this collaborative efforts intensified since mid 1970s. It also discusses how the indigenous leadership and organizational structure of Tibetan in exile smoothens the process not only of resettlement but also educating the younger generation. The main contention of this paper is that the States and International governmental Organizations (IGOs) generally face with constrain in getting directly involved in caring for refugees. The prominent role played by the INGOS, groups and individual persons from various regions of the world is indicative of emergence of global society and increasing interconnectedness of human beings in the rapidly shrinking world. The paper ends with emphasis that although high politics left much to be desired, development in the lower politics, especially with

active participation of the civil society, holds out hope for the humane world.

**Towards a Social Geography of Tibetan Trade in Lhasa  
and Kalimpong**

Harris, Christina, CUNY Graduate Center

During the early to mid-20th century, long-distance trade particularly flourished throughout the Trans-Himalayan region. Tibetan traders leading mule or yak caravans transported and exchanged products such as sheep wool, yak-tail fly whisks, and medicinal plants with their distant buyers, maintaining social and economic ties to distributors and marketplaces in China, Nepal, and India. During the past few decades, the transfer of goods across the eastern Himalayan borders has been dramatically affected by border openings and closings, most recently by the implementation of state-led infrastructure-building projects such as the construction of several new highways in West Bengal, the planned reopening of the Nathu-la trade corridor along the Sikkim/Tibet border, and the building of the Qinghai-Tibet railroad (to be completed in the next year or two). Today, the daily commercial activity in the Barkhor in central Lhasa and the baat of Kalimpong still reflects strong – though significantly transformed – cultural and economic links with other Himalayan marketplaces as well as urban, industrial locales throughout Asia.

Based on recent ethnographic fieldwork in Lhasa and Kalimpong, this paper will discuss the effects of the past sixty years of economic changes in the trans-Himalayan region on two generations of Tibetan traders and merchants, demonstrating how different trajectories of people and goods “have repeatedly remapped Asia” (Ludden 2003)<sup>1</sup>. This work-in-progress questions how infrastructural transformations on a larger, regional scale might be manifested through three smaller-scale, “everyday” sites of social activity: 1) Material Culture and Trade Practices: in what ways have the variety and availability of trans-Himalayan trade objects changed over the past sixty years? In what particular spaces are traditional measurement, credit and barter systems still used (such as secret finger signals used in bartering and ritual preparations for a caravan journey), where might these systems intersect with international flows of finance capital, and how would the knowledge of how these intersections are formed facilitate the movement of goods? 2) Social Networks: what part do merchants and traders play in facilitating, maintaining, cutting off, or re-establishing cross-border and local social and economic networks in relation to the changing modes of production, acquisition, exchange, and distribution of commodities between Kalimpong and Lhasa? 3) Trade Activity and Geographical Space: How do traders account for and negotiate rapid changes in the temporal and spatial paths of goods (i.e., travel time, distance to destination, and

modes of transportation)?

This paper will specifically center on the importance of traders as cultural and geographical intermediaries. Not only do intermediaries hold significant control over information pertaining to the origin, value, transport, interpretation, and authenticity of goods, but they are also integral to bridging knowledge gaps that exist between producers and their often-distant consumers. Changes in technology – such as the newly built Golmud-Lhasa railroad bed, or the introduction of the Internet as an alternative to face-to-face trading transactions – greatly alter the spatial and temporal conditions of commodity routes, and hence the possibilities of gaining, controlling, or losing knowledge along these paths. 'Ludden, David. 2003. "Presidential Address: Maps in the Mind and the Mobility of Asia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 62 (4): 1057-1078

### **Khunde Hospital and Childbirth Practices in a Sherpa Community, Nepal (1966-1998)**

Heydon, Susan, University of Otago

In 1966 New Zealander Sir Edmund Hillary built a small hospital in the village of Khunde to provide Western style health services to the approximately three thousand, mainly Sherpa population of the Mt Everest area in Nepal. Khunde Hospital was part of Hillary's wider aid programme to assist the Sherpa who were internationally renowned for their role in Himalayan mountaineering. The hospital soon became the main biomedical provider of health care and offered a wide range of outpatient and inpatient, curative and preventive services. Women could attend, for example, for antenatal care, childbirth and postnatal follow-up, but no woman delivered at the hospital during the first two years. This dismayed the young overseas staff brought in from New Zealand to run the hospital. In 1997, fifteen women had their babies in the hospital and the doctor attended a further seven in their homes, but other women delivered at home without the attendance of hospital staff. The aim of this paper is to use the hospital's experience as a way to explore the extent of changing ideas and practices in the area about childbirth. A wide variety of sources exist, which include hospital registers and reports from throughout the period, doctors' correspondence both official and personal, notes on a series of consecutive deliveries between 1996 and 1998, oral information and my own participant observation.

### **Tibeto-Burman Highlanders of the Far Eastern Himalaya and their Relations with Tibet**

Huber, Toni, Humboldt University

This paper is based upon extensive fieldwork conducted throughout the highland zone of central Arunachal Pradesh between 2002-2006. It offers the first anthropological survey of the Tibeto-Burman societies dwelling immediately adjacent to the Tibetan Plateau in this zone with a particular focus on their relations with Tibet. These small-scale societies have remained among the least known in Asia due to the local autonomy they have fiercely maintained, the physical

inaccessibility of their territories, the lack of any penetration by an organized state prior to the late 1950s, and the intense militarization of the region following the 1962 Sino-Indian war. The only body of written historical data concerning these groups is the occasional mention of them as klo-pa or mon-pa in Tibetan sources, although this Tibetan perspective reflects strong cultural prejudices and is a highly misleading guide to the region and its peoples. Recent Chinese writings on these populations have been equally distorted through the lens of nationalities (minzu) politics and colonial territorial claims, while the few South Asian studies that have emerged to date are heavily determined by the Indian state's discourse on Scheduled Tribes and a lack of ability to assess Tibetan-related social and cultural materials in the field. Using a range of examples, this paper will argue against the formulation of any simple generalizations about this region and its peoples. Instead, it will demonstrate the diversity of these groups and also the complexity of their relations with their Tibetan neighbours, and raise questions relevant to future research.

### **The Ethico-Politics of the Dharamsala Men-Tsee-Khang (India)**

Kloos, Stefan, University of California – Berkeley

This paper explores Tibetan medicine in the Indian exile as a technology of life, where medicine, science, politics, and ethics merge. The Dharamsala-based Men-Tsee-Khang understands itself as a public health institution, providing affordable and high quality health care to Tibetan communities in exile (and increasingly also Indians and foreigners). Yet, its role in public health alone does not explain the Men-Tsee-Khang's (MTK) pre-eminent status among all secular institutions in the Tibetan exile. I will examine the MTK's development from being a "problem department" in very dire straights in the 1960s and 70s to its dominance within the Tibetan Central Administration today, which goes beyond the merely medical. I argue that this process of institutionalization provides an interesting case of what Nikolas Rose calls "ethico-politics", that is, the merging of ethics and politics into a single domain in which Tibetan life in exile is shaped, governed, and made meaningful. I will use ethnographic material from research conducted in 2005 and 2006, in order to show how – through the MTK's internal organization, its practices and discourses around medicine production and its engagement with Western science – Tibetan medicine's importance in the diaspora stems from its functioning as a technology of life in more than one sense.

### **Iconometry and Spatial Configuration of a 12th/13th Century Temple at Saspotse / Ladakh**

Kozicz, Gerald, Independent Scholar

Walking up the small valley behind Saspol, the village opposite the famous Alchi area at the Indus River, one reaches the small village of Saspotse. North of the village, on a steep cliff, a group of religious buildings (several stupas, a lhatho, two temples and another, yet un-studied, ruin) are situated in

a quite dominating position on a narrow plateau above the village from which one can even see the Alchi compound in the far South. Of this small cluster one temple is of particular interest. It is of square shape in plan and was once entered from the East after passing through a courtyard. The temple's roof has partly collapsed probably recently, and about 40% of its former murals, unfortunately including most of the mandala opposite the entrance, have vanished. According to the style of the paintings the temple may be added to the so-called Alchi Group of monuments. Despite of the damage the sizes of mandalas could still be measured and their order was reconstructed. The temple also contains a decorated stupa (mchod-rten) of quite fragile form, which is supported by lion figures similar to the lotus throne of four-fold representation of Vairocana in the Tabo Main Temple. Unfortunately its upper-most part is missing today, but some of the decorative elements such as attached lotus flowers and remains of painted figures (Bodhisattvas?) could still be documented. Since there is an almost identical stupa in the second temple of the same site, which is in a better shape, a virtual reconstruction of the stupa can be done. In the paper the author will explain the canon of proportion and the iconometric approach, according to which the architectural space, the mandalas and the stupa inter-act in terms of their sizes and positions. The analysis will demonstrate, how the architectural space and the decorative elements form a unit on the basis of an overall iconometric concept. It will provide important clues for a new insight into the conceptualisation and perception of early Buddhist architecture, especially with regards to its vicinity to the early monuments of the Alchi choskor.

#### **Fragments of pramana texts preserved in Tabo Monastery: Part II**

Lasic, Horst, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften

During the last two decades, research on Western Himalaya has taken on a new momentum. This development was initiated by Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, all affiliated with the University of Vienna. Their initial research in the Western Himalaya was confined to the fields of Art History and Philology. They were soon successful in finding the international scholars to join them in their effort. During the next years, not only the number of collaborators but also the fields of research increased and became more specialized, ultimately comprising research on oral traditions, architecture, manuscripts, inscriptions and art history. The different projects are now incorporated into an interdisciplinary research unit dedicated to the cultural history of the Western Himalaya.

In the beginning; the focus was set on Tabo Monastery in the spiti Valley in Himachal Pradesh. In 1989; research on manuscripts began when Helmut Tauscher, in charge

of the philological investigation, took part in the first expedition to Tabo. During the following years the overwhelmingly large number of unsorted manuscript folios of evidently high historical value that were found there have been examined, regrouped into manuscript units and documented in situ. A greater part of them have also been photographed. The primary collaborators in this work have been Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Paul Harrison, Christoph Cüppers and Helmut Tauscher.

A catalogue, compiled by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Paul Harrison and planned to be published in the near future, will provide scholars with a means to systematically approach the filmed material, essential for studies concerned with the history of the individual texts and groups of texts as well as of the history of the Tibetan bka' gyurs and bstan gyurs as a whole.

The present paper will focus on a particular group of texts found in Tabo, namely the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts belonging to the so-called logico-epistemological tradition within Buddhism, which started in India with Dignaga and Dharmakirti. Tibetan scholars begun to produce translations of texts belonging to this highly complicated genre at an unexpectedly early date, and twenty-five or so are already mentioned in the 'Phan than and the IDan kar catalogues.

As a sequel to my paper held at the 10th seminar of the IATS, the present examination will look for further clues to determine the historical position of these manuscripts in the development of the bstan gyurs.

#### **Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan: The Myth of Venereal Disease**

McKay, Alex, Affiliated Fellow, IIAS

Both popular accounts of Tibet by European travelers such as F. Spencer Chapman and the medical records of the British imperial physicians of the Indian Medical Service who were posted in Tibet in the 1904-47 period indicate that venereal diseases were endemic to the Tibetan cultural regions of the Himalayas. While the British imperial officers actually down-played this point as they sought to construct a positive image of Tibet in the post-Younghusband era of Anglo-Tibetan friendship and alliance of interests, the understanding that these diseases were extremely common there has continued to be stated in more recent literature. Yet analysis of the British records demonstrates that this was yet another myth about Tibet. The myth actually arose from strategies of medical resort by the local people, who found Western (or biomedical) treatment for venereal diseases more effective than indigenous treatments and thus turned to them for this malady, while continuing to resort to indigenous treatment for many other conditions. The result was an imbalance in attendance at biomedical dispensaries which was read by the British as indicating endemic venereal disease.



## **Pacifying the External Demons: Religious Politics and State Formation in Seventeenth Century Sikkim**

Mullard, Saul, Wolfson College, Oxford University

The purpose of this paper is to examine the early history of Sikkim from the seventeenth century onwards, applying a particular focus to the lineages of the religious and political actors that shaped the formation of the religious and political state in West Sikkim (c. 1640-1700). My presentation will be theoretically based within the wider framework of Tibetan religio-political thought such as *lugs gnyis*, *mchod-yon* etc. and the ways in which such religious ideas, which derive inspiration from ideas expressed in the Buddhist Tantric tradition and history of India<sup>1</sup>, have been used in a political manner. One of the main ways that this project will examine the formation of religio-political ideology in Sikkim is to interpret how other religious materials and texts (such as *gter ma*, *gnas yig* and prophetic texts) were applied, during a period of religious and political instability in seventeenth century Tibet, to legitimize the establishment of 'safe havens', such as Sikkim, for politically marginalized religious groups.

This work is set around a number of clearly defined areas of enquiry. Firstly, the importance of the *gter ma* tradition in the construction of the religious and political ideologies of the early western Sikkimese state was the initial starting point in my research; and has led me to highlight, in earlier work, the political signification of the construction of the physical landscape and territory of the early Sikkimese state with the celestial Mandala (Mullard 2003). The second area of enquiry involves a critical reading of early historical material (dated from 1640-1710) in light of later semi-mythical and oral histories of the migration of Tibetans from *kham* *mi nyag*, which culminated in the foundation of the Sikkimese state in 1642. To date my own research has cast serious doubt over such 'traditional' histories, and in light of recently discovered documents, I have begun to reconstruct a more likely series of events which preceded the reign of Phun tshogs rnam rgyal (he gained power in 1642) and his official coronation in 1649<sup>2</sup>.

The third main area of enquiry is based on an analysis of the development of the political apparatus and religious institutions of the early state. Using original sources (i.e. land grants and royal pronouncements) I am beginning to evaluate the mechanisms employed by the state, such as; the construction of a legal system (which was already in place before the ascension of Phun tshogs rnam rgyal), taxation structures, codified and legal relations between Lepchas and Tibetans, Landholding systems, national and regional governance and monastic law.

Prior to the establishment of the 'unified' kingdom of Sikkim in the early 1640s, the political landscape of Sikkim was characterized by the existence of a number of micro-states, most of which had systems of governance over only small territorial domains. These micro-states varied considerably in their political foundations, systems of governance and

ethnic make-up; as it appears that the early political states of 'Tibetan' Sikkim coexisted, if not always peacefully, with, what can best be described as, loosely formed Lepcha areas based on kinship and clan relationships.

The precise events surrounding the ascension of Phun tshogs rnam rgyal to political prominence are still shrouded in mystery; he may have gained power either by legitimate succession or he may have been involved in some form of political coup. What, however, is certain is that the basic structures of political organization were already in place before his ascension; a detailed taxation and legal system were in operation and applied to the areas under Phun tshogs control<sup>3</sup>. By the mid 1640s Phun tshogs, using both the force of arms and astute diplomatic techniques, had managed to establish a confederation of micro-states, which ultimately fell under his control.<sup>4</sup>

It was around this time that Nyingmapa Lamas began to arrive in Sikkim, seeking safety from the political turmoil which was reaching its apex in central Tibet. It is uncertain whether Buddhism was practiced in Sikkim prior to the arrival of Nyingmapa refugees;<sup>5</sup> however, it is certain that the arrival of Nyingmapa lamas precipitated a renaissance of Buddhism in Sikkim. Whether this renaissance of Buddhism was founded and sponsored on the basis of political objectives, religious devotion or a combination of both is still open to speculation; nevertheless, by the beginning of the eighteenth century the role and status of Buddhism and its institutions were second only to the royal administration of Sikkim.

<sup>1</sup> As expressed by Snellgrove, Ruegg and Davidson.

<sup>2</sup> Mullard, S. In Press 'Hidden Land Hidden History'

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *ṡTeng phyogs lha nas babs te nang mtshan rgya kar shar phyogs bgyud nas 'ong te kham mi nyag a'o ldong drug spun gsum gyi byung khungs lo rgyus bzugs so.*

<sup>5</sup> The fourteenth century *gter ston Rig 'dzin rgod ldan* can had established a monastery in Sikkim, yet it is difficult to assess whether Buddhism had been fully adopted by the Sikkimese population.

## **South Indian Tibetans. Preliminary findings in a study of changes in life patterns and development dynamics in the Tibetan refugee settlement Lugsum Samdupling, Bylakuppe**

Nagarajaroo, Subramanya, Indian Research Institute

The history and development of the Tibetan refugee settlements have received little attention from the research community. This paper reports some preliminary findings from an ongoing study of the development of Lugsum Samdupling, the first of a number of settlements established in India. Using primary data from the camp registers, the old settlement records, recent household surveys, interviews and old photographs the object of the study is to document and analyze changes in life patterns and development dynamics in the settlement, mainly in the 1960's and 70's. Lugsum Samdupling is located west of Mysore in Karnataka state and is, together with the adjacent settlement Dickey Larsoe, often referred to as Bylakuppe. Drawing its name from the nearby Indian village, Bylakuppe is the largest community of Tibetan refugees

in India today. Out of the first batch of 666 refugees that arrived to Lugsum Samdupling in the end of 1960 100 were settled in tents in Camp 1. The settlers were organized according to a principle of five members per household, and were later allotted a house and a patch of land for agriculture. The development of the settlement was undertaken in cooperation between the Private Office of the Dalai Lama, the Governments of India and Karnataka and some donor organizations, most notably Swiss Technical Co-operation. Today Lugsum Samdupling consists of six camps, and has a total population of around 7 500. After making a brief summary of the history of Lugsum Samdupling the paper presents preliminary results from a fertility and population analysis of Camp 1 carried out in 2006. Based on letters and documents in the old settlement files some observations about the local interaction and relationship between Tibetans and Indians in the 1960's and 70's are also made.

### **Influence of dietary beliefs and the role of social and economic factors on maternal health of exile Tibetans in contemporary Dharamsala, India**

Pathak, Nupur, Panjab University

Attempts to manage the health of expectant mother are ubiquitous in human societies. The practices are traditionally evolved as folk culture and becoming formalized as prenatal care under the supervision of medical personnel to ensure their well- beings. Tibetans profess a variety of dietary beliefs including the common perception of 'hot' and 'cold' foods. A sample of 148 Tibetan women of child-bearing age group and above were interviewed from difference socio-economic strata at Dharamsala, India in 2004 following random sampling method, in-depth interview schedule and case history from hospital records. Despite exposure to modern media, Tibetan and Allopathic medical facilities 58% Tibetan women opted for home delivery. Many women do not prefer to seek intervention of either prenatal care and birth for a variety of reasons even after four decades of their migration to India. Reasons are conditioned by numerous factors such as nature of work, income, cost of care, education, location of clinics, quality of care and perceptions of need. Tibetan women folk with their limited economic resources rarely get opportunity to think of their own health problems. A significant number of populations frequently move all over India to sell wollen garments. The Tibetans consider pregnancy is a normal state of health. Findings suggest that during pregnancy a strong dietary belief underlies increased intake of tsam pa (parched barley flour) mixed with butter, salt, Tibetan tea and frequent drinking of Tibetan tea amongst others. The Tibetans classify these foods as 'hot' and its importance lies in the face that it enhances vigour, strength that is thought to be essential to generate breast milk among expectant mother. Tibetan mothers avoid certain foods those are believed to cause

deformities in the fetus and harmful to mothers as well. The study also unravels that 80% pregnant women can hardly afford to consume milk and milk products regularly and hence survive on limited nutrient intake primarily due to change in their social, economic condition. The risk factors exist in the context of the absence of regular prenatal care, lack of involvement of medical personnel during delivery and continuing with a faith in traditional dietary beliefs, home based delivery as were practiced in Tibet. This trend contributes to substantial problems for maternal health that includes sufferings from anaemia, hypertension, and weakness, swelling in the face, pain in the limbs. Moreover, difficulties to establish breast milk from the very day of child-birth were disclosed by 43.75% in the sample population.

It is argued that the existence and perseverance of traditional dietary culture and practices among Tibetan young mothers is a challenge to overcome their nutritional deficiencies and can compromise birth outcome in contemporary scenario. Reason for this study is to encourage Tibetan expectant mothers to increase their consumption of foods which are high in iron, folic acid, calcium and carbohydrates and protein while avoiding excessive fat and salt intake. There is need to suggest for regular prenatal care and hospital births to enhance or protect maternal health.

### **Rituals of Bhutan. A documentation**

Pommaret, Françoise, CNRS

In 2002, through the UNESCO Intangible Heritage Section, ILCS received a grant to document the rituals of Bhutan. As the project duration was only two years, it was impossible to document all the rituals of Bhutan. Therefore we decided that we will start documenting those that are little known, from remote rural areas, and which have non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist components. The first step was to train some lecturers from ILCS on ethnographic documentation methods and research, which was my part of the work as well as to train them on video camera recording, a task which was carried out by our colleague Yannick Jooris. The rituals were selected taking into account the budget, the logistics and their interest. I would like to present here video excerpts of this work, the database that we established as well as draw the first anthropological conclusions on these rituals.

### **The 14th Dalai Lama: A Functional Icon of the Exile Tibetan Struggle**

Römer, Stephanie, Independent Scholar

This paper will deal with the position of the 14th Dalai Lama within the exile Tibetan community from a political science point of view. It is based on the results of my PhD dissertation: "Exile Tibetan Politics. An Analysis of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile" at the Department of Political Science of the Free University of Berlin. My theoretical



frame describes Yossi Shain's theory of exile organizations, which is the only existing theoretical approach to administrative structures in exile in the field of political sciences. Shain defines the central focus of an exile organization as a struggle to overthrow and/or replace the present political system in the homeland from a basis from abroad. The main difficulties of such exile struggle lie in an exile organization's ability to cultivate national loyalty and international recognition. Factors that influence such process on the national level are the composition of the national Diaspora, the existence of pre-exile loyalties and the relationship of the exiles to their national compatriots who still live in the homeland. According to Shain, most important is the so-called insider-outsider dilemma, which describes a complicated relationship between the exile community (outsiders) and the national people at home (insiders) based on different experiences during the times of separation. The difficulties are almost not to overcome and lead in the worst case to splits within a nation and consequently to a breakdown of the whole exile struggle. On the international level an exile organization is dependent on the politics of the present ruler at home, the host country and the political developments within the international community. But how can an exile organization achieve the necessary national and international support and which political preconditions need to be in existence? Based on Shain's theoretical approach my presentation will look at the political position of the 14th Dalai Lama in the context of cultivating national and international support. Since the 17th century the Dalai Lamas are in the position to hold superior religious and political powers in Tibet. Especially the 5th, 13th and 14th incumbent played a central role in Tibetan politics. The institution of the Dalai Lama is also a central and unifying element in the present exile context. As reincarnated Buddha of compassion and genitor of the Tibetan race the 14th Dalai Lama enjoys the loyalty of all Tibetans despite their present place of living, their regional and social heritage or religious affiliations. His religious superiority is combined with ultimate political powers in the contemporary exile context. The Tibetan government-in-exile, the Central Tibetan Administration of the Dalai Lama (CTA), acts according to the traditional concept *chos srid gnyis ldan*, the combination of politics and religion. Therefore the 14th Dalai Lama is vested with exclusive powers in legislative, executive and judicial matters, so far they are not managed by the Indian hosts. Such division of power is remarkable in view of the worldwide communicated introduction of democratic ideas in the exile Tibetan political system. According to Shain's theoretical approach, the 14th Dalai Lama's superior position within the Tibetan community, as well in the religious as in the political sphere, on the one hand side has positive effects on the political stability of the organizational structure of the CTA. With the help of his traditional legitimation through his religious power he acts as unifying force within the exile community and enjoys the loyalty of all Tibetans. As head of the exile government he transfers this national support to the CTA. In this regard he supports the

political credibility of the CTA within the exile community. Furthermore, the example of the 14th Dalai Lama shows that Shain's problematic insider-outsider dilemma can be solved by a charismatic and traditionally legitimated political leader. The 14th Dalai Lama is in the position to minimize the upcoming gaps between the exile community and the Tibetans at home. On the other hand side his position also hinders a secular democratic transformation of the exile Tibetan political system as a whole. His present political power indicates that the rest of the CTA structure functions merely symbolically. Not all exile Tibetans support the present democratic transformation where religion and politics go hand in hand. Despite their loyalty to the 14th Dalai Lama Tibetans withhold their active participation in elections and in the political life as a whole. In the international sphere the 14th Dalai Lama increasingly acts as global icon, a role that was highlighted with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. It put him in an extraordinary favorable position to generate international financial and moral support. This in turn provides the CTA with international support and acknowledgement. So at present the 14th Dalai Lama contributes considerably to the economic survival of the exile Tibetans in Asia through a wide network between international Tibet Support Groups and the organizational survival of the CTA. To conclude, the 14th Dalai Lama is able to mobilize both national and international support, which is transferred to the CTA. In this regard his authority and superior position is indispensable for the organizational survival and political position of the CTA within the Tibetan community and political stability in exile.

### **Is the Dalai Lama a Democrat? A Paradox between Buddhism and Democracy Or A Constitutional Analysis of the Secularization of the Tibetan Diaspora: The Role of the Dalai Lama**

Sangay, Losang, Harvard University

This article examines the Dalai Lama's efforts to secularize Tibetan democratic constitutionalism in the Diaspora community. The basic premise of democratic constitutionalism is that the leader of the nation or the government should be elected by the people. At first glance, the Dalai Lama's place in the Tibetan political world would seem to violate the ruling premises of liberal democracy, for his leadership is not based on election but on a formula of succession articulated by rules shaped by Tibetan Buddhism. In this context, the Dalai Lama as the leader of the Tibetan government gives the impression less of a democrat than of a theocrat. The separation of church and state can be crossed only if the Dalai Lama replaces himself by a democratically elected leader. What absolute ruler would countenance that possibility?

This essay examines a Tibetan approach to finding a middle way through this dilemma, a species of secularism articulated in the complex concept *chos-lug-rimey*, which allows the institutional separation of church and state but

not the spiritual separation of Buddhism from politics, their spiritual guidance in affairs of state particularly in urging policies of peace and non-violence. Yet although segregating institutional from spiritual domains may be easy to state theoretically, in practice they quickly begin to overlap and cause tension. This paper will examine the complex concept of chos-lug-rimay through a drafting, interpretation, and implementation of the 1963 constitution and the 1991 Charter of the Tibetans in exile.

### **Border-crossing identities: preliminary research on ethnicity at the Nepal-China (TAR) Friendship Bridge**

Shneiderman, Sara, Cornell University

This paper will present initial findings on ethnic relations between multiple Tibetan, Nepali, and Chinese populations resident on both sides of the so-called Friendship Bridge, which marks the primary border-crossing point between Nepal and the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China. Based on ethnographic research currently underway in the TAR's Nyalam Prefecture and Nepal's Sindhupalchok District, I will examine how the treaty between Nepal and China which allows residents living within 30km of the border to cross it freely affects migration patterns, and therefore the ethnic composition, on either side of the border. In particular, I will consider how national identities such as 'Nepali', 'Tibetan' and 'Chinese' interact with ethnic and regional identities such as 'Thangmi', 'Khampa' and 'Han', and religious identities such as 'Buddhist' and 'Hindu' in this border zone. How are the boundaries between these different groups maintained, if at all? Do ethnic boundaries as subjectively defined by individuals living in this area map on to the political boundaries which define the territory in which they reside? Since very little contemporary research has been conducted in this area of the TAR, this paper will contribute new empirical data to our understanding of ethnicity, identity and migration in this border region of the Tibetan cultural world.

### **Demographic & Socio-economic Developmental Challenges of the Tibetan Population in South Asia**

Tsundue, Kunchok, Planning Council Central Tibet Administration

The first Tibetan Demographic Survey strongly implies that Tibetan population in exile is undergoing a drastic change having far reaching imperatives. Low fertility despite low mortality, high literacy against higher unemployment rates, intense mobility vs necessities of settled community living are the facts and figures of TDS 98 that challenges policy makers, planners and citizens alike. In this paper, an attempt has been made to briefly review some of the changing aspects of Tibetan population in India and Nepal with its developmental challenges being faced. The development stage is marked by 'normalisation' of Tibetans in India where the Tibetans themselves are now

asked to take the responsibility for their own development pursuits. The issues like low fertility rates & declining enrolment, lack of employment opportunities, declining quality education and a wide range of nutrition and health problems threatens the very survival and sustenance of Tibetan population.

Tibetan population in exile finds itself under a unique situation of Diaspora in which the dichotomy of rehabilitation on the one hand and development pursuits on the other blur the perspectives of individual and community alike. The demographic irregularities of Tibetan population are nothing but an immediate response vis a vis the sluggish progress made against finding an amicable solution to the political situation of Tibet. Hence it would be wrong to compare or generalize the population pattern and structure with any other nation having a normal socio-economic and political situation.

Tibetan population is indeed undergoing a phase of change after living over four decades in uprooted conditions. The type of programmes that were initiated since early 60s and lack of progress against revolving the political issue of Tibet have immensely impacted the intervening generations born in exile having no direct linkages to their ancestral home. Intense migration and low fertility are the two vital demographic factors that led to a phase with series of abnormalities. This phase may well be seen as a transitional phase, which is waning, where many indicators going low towards a kind of normalcy. It is well acknowledged that the switching between rehabilitation and development costs both human and financial resources dearly. While political pursuit continues, the action must be taken to redress the socio-economic fronts. This has been well-taken and reflected in current reforms and action programmes of the CTA. A sharing perspectives and planning at the grass roots level will expedite the process of normalcy further. But even when exile bits are done, the abnormalities in the demography of Tibetan population may still persist as long as the political issue of Tibet remained unresolved.

### **Findings of the First Modern Linguistic Survey of Sikkim**

Turin, Mark, University of Cambridge

Since late 2004, with the support of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, I have been conducting the first modern linguistic survey of the State of Sikkim. The survey has three main objectives: (i) to compile an inventory of all of the languages spoken in Sikkim (ii) to determine the geographical distribution and genetic affinity of each language spoken as a mother tongue in this Himalayan state (iii) to estimate the number of speakers of each language on the basis of disaggregated census data, roof counts and on-site field investigation. A baseline linguistic survey of a state is an essential requirement for planning language policy in education, media and the public sphere. Detailed

linguistic surveys have been conducted in the Kingdoms of Nepal (1986) and Bhutan (1991) respectively, the findings of which have augmented rudimentary data already available from national census bureaus. While the ten-yearly Census of India (most recently 2001) collects cursory information on social factors, it returns no data on monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism, nor does it address the uptake of officially recognised minority languages by children. Our linguistic survey field team has traveled to the four districts of Sikkim to visit local schools and administrative offices in order to better understand the complex linguistic reality of the Sikkimese state. The first census of Sikkim was taken in February 1891, and published in 1894, when Sikkim was under British colonial rule. The total population of Sikkim was then recorded as 30,458, of which a little over one third was made up of the indigenous Lepcha and Bhutia populations. This early census and many later surveys recorded ethnic affiliation only, and contain no explicit data on which languages are spoken and by how many citizens. According to the 1931 Census Report, out of a total population of 109,808 there were 13,060 Lepchas, 11,955 Bhutias and the rest were mainly Nepalese. The 1961 Census reported that 43 mother tongues were spoken in Sikkim, while the 1971 Census Report gave the percentage of population by language, according to which speakers of the Nepali language constituted 63.97%, while the Lepcha and Bhutia languages were spoken by 10.63% and 11.23% of the total population respectively. On October 17, 1977, the Sikkim Official Language Act was passed by the Governor of the State, adopting Nepali, Bhutia and Lepcha as 'the languages to be used for the official purposes of the State of Sikkim'. Two issues become apparent from this brief overview. First, data on language is not returned with any regularity in the census; and second, the grassroots linguistic reality of the state of Sikkim is fast changing on account of modernisation, migration and the growth of communications media. This survey has collected granular baseline data on the spoken languages of Sikkim, with a specific focus on officially-recognised mother tongues, and has mapped their genetic affiliation and distribution across the four districts of the state. These findings will be presented at IATS XI.

#### **Buddhist Artefacts in Lahaul**

Widorn, Verena, WHAV, University of Wien

The religious history of Lahaul, Himachal Pradesh has always remained unclear. It is hardly acknowledged that this region played a significant role as a Buddhist centre in medieval time. Archaeological evidence unequivocally suggests strong Buddhist activity in this region since the eighth century. This paper will identify the most important Buddhist sites in this area. The objective is to determine the different periods of Buddhist prosperity that enabled the foundation of several monasteries that form the important Lahaul pilgrimage route today. This report is based on research in all relevant European and Indian archives and numerous fieldtrips to Lahaul in recent years. By employing a methodology that compares

the written tradition (surveys, chronologies or genealogies) to the existing archaeological and art historical evidence of the ancient remnants, the Buddhist legacy in this area should become more understandable. Particular interest will be paid to surveys and reports of the first western scholars who visited this remote area at the beginning of the twentieth century. J.Ph. Vogel was among the first researchers who had travelled in this region. For the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba he collected old stone inscription and fountain slabs that present essential cultural information dating back to the eighth

#### **Abstracts related to environment, development, medicine, and contemporary culture**

##### **Translating Science: The Arura Medical Group and the Frontiers of Medical Research**

Adams, Vincanne, University of California – San Francisco; Renchen Dhondrup, Arura Group, Xining, China; and Phuoc V. Le, Harvard University

Traditional Tibetan Medicine in the Qinghai Region city of Xining is undergoing a revitalization. Today, this effort is largely supported by the work of the Arura Medical Group, which funds four endeavors: College of Tibetan Medicine, Hospital, Research Division, and Pharmaceutical Factory. Such efforts are carried out in constant dialogue with questions of empirical validity, research, and efficacy in comparison with biomedicine. This paper explores the nature and forms of translation that are emergent at the juncture of these four institutions as they undertake to establish a presence, an empirical basis for claims of efficacy, and a foundation for ongoing clinical practice in this region. Dr. Adams wishes to acknowledge the support of the National Science Foundation for this research. Research has been undertaken by all three authors above, working in collaboration.

##### **Does consecration (Yin Lab) of Tibetan jewel intensify their potency? On possible empowerment through ritual blessing**

Aschoff, Jurgen C., Ulm University

Tibetan traditional medicine has not yet been investigated by means of methods according to "evidence-based medicine" which today is the only standard proof of efficacy for every kind of medical treatment. This is especially true for the most powerful of Tibetan medicines, the complex jewel pills (precious pills) containing some 20 and up to 100 different ingredients. Whether such an evidence-based investigation of traditional Tibetan medicine is worth-while, payable under economic aspects – or whether we even should oppose to such investigations for different kinds of reason, this will not be discussed in my presentation. The topic I am concerned about is rather a different one: In former times and over many centuries, jewel pills have always been consecrated by High Lamas (Guru Yoga practice). Sometimes only special parts of the medicine will be blessed like detoxified mercury. At other times and circumstances large quantities of myrobalm



(added to almost all Tibetan medicine) would be blessed, and small parts of this consecrated material would then be added to all the jewel pills. Or, the finally coated and silk-wrapped pills maybe be blessed. Nowadays, some centres continue to have their precious pills blessed, in other centres the blessing performance has been given up, due to the belief that the power of the physical qualities of the ingredients is the only real value for the benefit of the suffering patient. So we may ask ourselves about differences in "blessed" and "unblessed" Tibetan jewel pills. Are their differences in efficacy? Can probable differences be measured in laboratory testings, or even in evidence-based patient trials? Or secondly: what happens on the psychological level (psychoimmunology) of patients knowing to receive a blessed pill or an unblessed pill? Are their differences for patients of Tibetan origin or for Westerners? Do we believe on the existence in different physical qualities in a blessed pill which may be there without our possibility to measure it with today's instruments, but maybe measurable in later times? In trying to get an answer, I performed interviews with a fair number of renowned Tibetan doctors and pharmacologists as well as with Western scientists from the field of anthropology and specialized in ritual knowledge. In the end, I got as many different answers as many persons I interviewed. I will try to combine those answers into an understandable explanation.

#### **Femal sprul-sku: Tibetan Cinema and the Filming of Dorie Phagmo**

Barnett, Robert, Colombia University

In the last two or three years Chinese film distributors have started to produce copies of rare examples of Tibetan cinema from the 1950s and 1960s, making it easier for historians of Tibetan film to chart the evolution of this genre through different stages of propaganda, discourse and language and to build on the preliminary work done by Ljangbu (IATS 2003), myself (Inner Asia 2002) and Mara Matta (in process) on this subject. The increased distribution of early films suggests a growing interest in retro-propaganda among Tibetan film viewers, and since these are only available on VCDs, it means that what was originally a communal, public exercise (and often in effect mandatory) has become a private, domestic voluntary activity. The availability of films in digital formats changes the way that films are viewed and studied, allowing cheap and endlessly repeatable access to consumers and scholars alike.

Valuable models exist for looking at "minority" or "nationality" films within the genre of Chinese cinema, particularly Paul Clark's division of these studies of the exotic into the "northern minority" stereotype, all warlike and barbarian, and the "southern minority" films, with their focus on romanticism and the erotic. I look at Tibetan cinema in terms of the involvement of Tibetans in its production. The first full-length film to have been

directed, written and produced entirely by Tibetans did not appear until 1993 (Phagmo Tashi's *Khreng zhen*), but in the 1980s a number of films occurred which suggest a strong Tibetan influence, even though the directors and technicians were Chinese. One of the most interesting and controversial of these films is Niu huofu, "The Female Sprul-sku", a study of a pivotal moment in the life of Bsam lding rdo rje phag mo (Samding Dorje Phagmo), the foremost female lineage-holder in the former Tibetan state.

The film follows her response to the 1959 uprising (or in its terms, rebellion), and her flight to India, which it portrays as carried out under pressure from Tibetan guerrilla fighters. It describes her journey across the mountains to India and gives a detailed account of the political pressures she came under from different exile factions once she had arrived. This account includes a bizarre kind of hybrid borrowing that undercuts its propaganda objectives, in that the more extreme examples of political pressure are depicted in extreme Bollywood melodrama style, apparently without irony. By the end of the film Rdo rje phag mo is shown as having decided to return to China, but her return is never shown, another sign as to how far the film has migrated from its socialist realist antecedents.

The film has no visible Chinese presence, making it an important transitional stage in the slow and painful growth of Tibetan cinema from an entirely Chinese-made affair about Tibetans to one that at least occasionally can be made by Tibetans as well as representing them. This paper will present illustrations of that historical transition, its set-backs as well as its advances.

#### **Heart distress (snying nad) and Other Disorders in Amdo: Embodied Responses to History**

Bassini, Patrizia, University of Oxford

In my paper I shall examine the notion of "heart disease" (snying nad) and how Amdowa use this concept. I will show that patients have had this condition for decades, seek medical help, and take medicine regularly. Participants also perform rituals to repulse pollution (grib), which is believed to lay at the root of their disorder. Supplicants explain that "heart disease" is the outcome of shared and personal histories: often they connect it to the Cultural Revolution, new policies on land, the struggle to adjust to a modern urban life-style and the loss of dear family members. Historically, Amdo has been the target of incursion of many bordering civilisations that now share the same land and resources in a territory that once was predominantly Tibetan. I intend to contextualise "heart disease" and show to what degree shared and personal history can be embodied and articulated through physical disorder. "Heart disease" is not merely a response to history but also a means to express distress and perhaps protest within a medical framework. I therefore contend

that applicants use the label of “heart disease” as a protective shield. Within this frame they are able to express concerns that in normal political and social circumstances would not be deemed appropriate or desirable.

#### **“Whither the Mutton Eaters: The Enclosure Movement and Development Among Pastoralists in the TAR”**

Bauer, Kenneth, University of Oxford

This paper discusses development in pastoral regions of the Tibet Autonomous Region (PRC). It analyses why certain kinds of policies – particularly fencing – have been introduced and promoted. The causes and potential consequences of widespread enclosure in the TAR are then considered.

#### **When Thangka and Photography Meet: An Analysis of Tibetan Visuality in Modern Times**

Chen, Susan T., Emory University

This paper presents one segment of my ongoing project on the roles that photography has been playing in shaping modern Tibetan history and culture. It analyzes several important moments of the cultural encounter between thangka painting, used as the exemplary form of Tibetan visual practice derived from the past and surviving into the present time, and photography, a genre that is deployed by Christopher Pinney, Deborah Poole, and other cultural anthropologists to demarcate the arrival of more modern forms of visual practice in a given society. Based upon my recent fieldwork in Dharamsala, India, and in Lhasa and Labrang in Tibet, this paper highlights the mutual impacts and challenges of the two genres. I concentrate on the issues of context and agency: How have events such as coming into exile or being drawn into the storm of the Cultural Revolution created the circumstances through which the genres began to interact? Who has participated in the encounter and what have been their roles? How have the participants understood and deployed the genres? The outcome of my inquiries makes it clear that thangka painting and photography have been constantly defining the function and capacity of each other while often allowing each other unprecedented possibilities. While providing a lucid instance of the complex processes through which Tibetan tradition has met with modernity, this paper, I hope, will also help destabilize the reified binary between the traditional and the modern that has long dominated researchers’ imaginations in the field of Tibetan Studies.

#### **“Good” Manufacturing Practices: Or, Efficacy by Whose Standards?**

Craig, Sienna, Dartmouth College

This paper begins with the recognition that the circumstances under which Tibetan medicines are being made within the TAR and the greater PRC are undergoing profound transformations. I explore these transformations at several levels. Internal and external pressures to standardize Tibetan formulas and commercialize Tibetan pharmaceuticals for domestic and foreign consumption are examined in relation to

the larger realities of a fetishization of ‘science’ on the one hand and ‘traditional knowledge’ on the other, both within the context of the Chinese state’s regulation of ‘minority nationalities medicine’ and through a more global vision of what ‘alternative medicine’ is and should be. In particular, I discuss the introduction of Good Manufacturing Practices (GMP) to Tibetan medicine factories in the TAR. I examine how this set of policies, first designed by organizations such as the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the World Health Organization (WHO) to regulate the production of biomedicine, has now been adopted by the PRC and adapted for the production of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), as well as its ‘derivative’, so-called Traditional Tibetan Medicine (TTM). Through ethnographic examples drawn from interviews with Tibetan doctors, pharmacists, factory administrators, Health Bureau representatives, and lay Tibetans, as well as with foreign clinicians, researchers, and development workers, I discuss how the era of the GMP attempts to inscribe new boundaries around “cultural” versus “medical” knowledge and expertise – transformations that are both negotiated and resisted at the local level. I also discuss how the enforcing of GMP standards within Tibetan medical factories have impacted the socio-economics of those factories, as well as the populations (local, national, and international) that these factory-produced medicines are meant to serve. In more general terms, the paper raises questions about how efficacy is defined, regulated and used; how “evidence” corresponds to “belief” when it comes to delineating medical efficacy; and how this redefinition of Tibetan medicine’s “efficacy” and “drug safety” according to GMP standards alters the jurisdiction of expertise within contemporary Tibetan medicine practice.

#### **Quantitative and Qualitative Research in Tibetan Medicine**

Mingkyi, Cuomo, Humboldt University

This paper presents the development of a new approach to integrate Western and Tibetan medical knowledge in Tibet in such a way as to fit Chinese health policies and international medical standards while at the same time using concepts of traditional Tibetan medical knowledge with its more than 2000-year old history. It also touches upon knowledge that is based upon Tibetan peoples’ experiences and their unique landscape. Furthermore, I will draw upon my experience and knowledge in international clinical research undertaken with Tibetan medicine in the TAR. My paper also includes information on the basic state of health of Tibetans and on the impact of modern social and economic life since the middle of the 20th century. Since then, the proliferation of biomedical drugs, as well as medicines from other types of medical traditions, has been one of the key features of health care in Tibet. This period has also seen the standardization of medicines on an international basis, and the interest in different medical systems globally. For Tibetan medicine, this has meant that it has gained exposure in the international arena and at the



same time it faces pressures to become standardized, such as being produced in medicine factories, etc. When looking at Tibetan medical history and development since its early beginnings, major changes have occurred in the past 50 years. In some sense, we can say that Tibetan medicine has leapt to a new level, with the potential to become more powerful. However, I would like to emphasize the way in which to integrate a Tibetan medical perspective and knowledge into Western research methods for conducting research on Tibetan medicine. I will give one example that concerns the Tibetan medicine Zhi byed 11 for which I conducted qualitative research based on a Tibetan medical perspective whereas for quantitative research, I used Western statistics and evaluation methods.

### **The Poisonous *matiere-a-penser*: Social Diagnostics and Imagination around Kha ba dkar po**

Da Col, Giovanni, Cambridge University

Anthropological research on the idiom of poison (dug) in Tibetan-speaking regions remains in its infancy. The phenomenon seems to be widespread all over the Himalayas and several authors mention its presence, especially in Nepal among the Sherpas, the Limbus, the Bhote, the Rais, and in China among the Kong po Tibetans, in Southeastern TAR. Yet despite its diffusion, accounts on poisoning and its "cults" are mostly fragmentary and anecdotal. Due to the practical opaqueness such a research entails, poisoning has been mostly associated with witchcraft-related practices, exoticised by travelers and new-age explorers while maintaining its unsettling dimension among Tibetan pilgrims and traders. The present study arises out of field research carried out in Deqin (Bde chen) County, Yunnan Province, from 2003 to 2005. Accounts of poisoning practices in the area appears among travelers and missionary accounts, as well in Tibetan lam yig and even Chinese legal documents from Qing dynasty collected in local archives. The area hosted several ethnic groups other than Tibetans and involved constant exchanges with other minorities. In this milieu, Tibetan poisoning shows similarities with a form of "black magic", addressed in Chinese medical treatises and folk beliefs as *gu*, often associated with the Miao of the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau but known among the Na xi, Li su and Bai. Nevertheless, even by accepting a dose of diffusionism which, however, is only of limited value, the issue remains and concerns how Tibetans would have been able to rework and negotiate the poison idiom and what are its "epidemiological" modalities.

This paper wants to appreciate but further Levi-Strauss' focus suggestions on *matière-à-penser* by giving pre-eminence not only to the fact that people may get sick or eat or give poisonous food but think through poison. An interpretation of the meaning of poison requires then to be superseded by an inquiry into the plurality of ontologies which poison (as substance, ethical essence, thing,

idiom, concept) entails and the morally incommensurable perspectives - as indigenous heuristics - is therefore capable to reconcile.

### **On the Development and Connotation of Movie and Television Culture in Tibet**

Delun, Tshering Yangdzom

Since Tibet produced its first visual work in 1960's, the concept of movie and television culture has gradually emerged and developed as one part of modern Tibetan culture. The recent 50 years has witnessed a rapid decline of traditional printing media and an outburst of movie and television media. Movie and television culture has become one dominant part in modern culture. With this change in mind, the apparent discrepancy between traditional arts and modern arts in all aspects presents a great challenge to professionals and researchers alike: is it proper to adapt, to constrain, to instruct, or to bridge the difference? This paper attempts to research on this issue from the perspective of the development and connotation of movie and television culture, and focuses the study on the following aspects: the process of its development in modern culture; its function in history; features of the movie and television culture; and its impact on traditional culture.

### **The Tibetans and Their Adaptation to Modernization: The Beijing Case**

Du, Yongbin China, National Center for Tibetan Studies

As one of the fifty six ethnic groups in China, the Tibetans live outside of the Qinghai-Tibet plateau is a unique social scene. There is some research on the Tibetans live in abroad, but there are few works on the Tibetans live in China inland. Based on documents, archives, fieldwork and interviews, this paper examines the Tibetan community in Beijing and the challenges they face their strategies they use to adapt to the Tibetans live in Beijing. This paper is composed of two sections. In the first section, it outlines the basic situations of the Tibetans in Beijing, such as population, distribution, make up, occupation, and so on. Then it discusses the spreading of Tibetan culture in Beijing, focuses on Tibetan Buddhism. After that, this paper deals with the challenges the Tibetans in Beijing have to face, such as languages, custom, culture, religion and relations to other ethnic groups. In the second section, this paper focuses on the adaptation of the Tibetans in Beijing to the circumstance of Beijing. It argues that, in a sense, it is adaptation to modernization. It brings to light the adjustments of life style and work habits of the Tibetans to the new conditions in Beijing. Next, it examines different groups of Tibetans in Beijing, such as workers, businessmen, intellectuals, students, officials, and so on, and how they adapt themselves to modernization. Particularly, it deals with the relation, interaction and inter-impacts between the Tibetans and other ethnic groups in Beijing. It not only pays attention to role of the Tibetans themselves,

but also discusses the role which the government plays on the ethnic minority communities, such as preferential policies on education, living, occupations. Moreover, this paper reveals the contributions Tibetans in Beijing made to economic development, social progress, improvement of relations of ethnic groups and cultural exchanges.

**Revisiting Lewis and Polanyi on the Tibetan Plateau: subsistence capacity and the commodification of Tibetan rural labour**

Fischer, Andrew Martin, London School of Economics

This paper reflects on some of the paradoxical processes involved in rural labour transitions among Tibetans in Tibet. Two are commonly observed. First, although rural Tibetans are officially among the poorest in China in terms of per capita income, they are not very inclined to engage in low-wage employment, which is generally stigmatised and avoided when possible. Rather, they 'involute' into subsistence while targeting more coveted employment options through selective education and migration strategies. Second, even though poor according to most measures, they are the wealthiest in rural China in terms of per capita assets. In other words, the multi-dimensional characteristics of poverty do not always correlate, even if the literature on poverty generally assumes that they do. Instead of relying on culturally-determinist or purely rationality-based explanations, these paradoxes can be understood through concept of absolute and relative 'subsistence capacity'. Elaborating on Arthur Lewis on the role of productivity in subsistence agriculture in determining factorial terms of trade in open economies with unlimited supplies of labour, relative subsistence capacity determines relative wage expectations. Absolute subsistence capacity determines the ability of households to maintain autonomy from labour markets when wages on offer do not conform to their expectations, thereby sustaining culturally-embedded conceptions of labour hierarchy. Subsistence in this sense is crucial to rural perceptions of wealth and dignity and the concept of subsistence capacity places emphasis on these subjective valuations, which have instrumental as well as symbolic dimensions, although they are difficult if not impossible to quantify through standard wealth measures. However, these subsistence-based strategies are unsustainable in the long term. This study supports the proposition advanced by Karl Polanyi that the creation of commodified labour requires coercion, particularly where labour is rooted in significant asset wealth. In the Tibetan case, coercion has ironically occurred through government policies of poverty alleviation and environmental protection, both of which increasingly emphasise resettlement and urbanisation. Within the context of a peripheral non-industrial economy, these policies risk a ghettoization of rural Tibetans in small towns.

**'The resurgence and spread of polyandry in contemporary rural Tsang, TAR.'**

Fjeld, Heidi, University of Oslo

Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in two villages in Panam (Tsang, Tibet Autonomous Region) in 2003 and 2004, this paper presents new data on marriage distribution in rural Tsang, with an emphasis on fraternal polyandry. The resurgence and spread of polyandry is significant in numbers. While earlier literature claims some 30 per cent of marriages in traditional Tibet to be polygamous, of which the clear majority were polyandrous (Aziz 1978: 137-138), my findings indicate some 60 per cent polygamy (of which 59 per cent are polyandrous). In the villages studied, most of the households with a constellation of people that enables polyandry, have arranged such a marriage, i.e. those households with more than one son within the same generation. In this area, polyandry is the preferred form for marriage today, a perception shared across social borders of class and 'caste'. This paper focuses on the spread of polyandry to formerly monogamous groups (traditional skill workers, servants and labourers). My intention is to analyse two aspects of this process of social change, firstly, the concurrence of the preference for polyandry with the latest land reform implemented in China (and Tibet) in 1980, and secondly, the demographic implications of such high incident of polyandry, focusing particularly on migration patterns. Through these two approaches, the paper aims to discuss and contribute to the study of recent population processes in Tibet Autonomous Region, set within the frame of social organisation in general, and marriage in particular.

**Biodiversity Conservation and Pastoralism in the Tibetan Chang Tang; coexistence or conflict?**

Fox, Joseph L., University of Tromsø

The second largest nature reserve in the world, as well as several other large reserves, have recently been established in the northern portion of the high Tibetan plateau (or Chang Tang region), covering well over half its extent. Conservation in these reserves is focused on large mammal species such as the Tibetan antelope, wild yak, other herbivores and their predators. Recent exploitation of a number of these species, especially the antelope or chiru, has led to large-scale efforts to deter hunting, initiatives that have little-appreciated effects on nomadic community livelihoods. More significant in the long term, however, is that although Tibet's nomadic herders have coexisted with these various wild species for centuries, typical current development efforts on the plateau to modernize livestock husbandry will lessen the potential for coexistence with many of the wild species. How development and conservation efforts interact to affect both ecosystem attributes and local livelihoods will constitute formative policy issues in the region for the foreseeable future. A case study of these issues in the Chang Tang Nature Reserve is presented.

**Shes bya: a Tibetan newspaper's international reportage in the 1970s**

Garratt, Kevin, Independent Scholar

This paper provides a survey and a brief analysis of how a particular Tibetan language newspaper, published from

Dharamsala, India over the last 35 years - covered international affairs between 1971 and 1977. Its reportage of world affairs of the time ranged from Sino-Tibetan issues - such as the Chairman Mao succession - to regional political matters - like the emergence of Bangladesh and of the Khmer Rouge - through to items of global significance, often with an American flavour - President Nixon's rise and fall, war in South Vietnam, and cold war summits. As a print media tool to inform - and influence - its mostly Tibetan exile readership, the paper offered a conservative strand of reportage as well as a creative use of pictorial components in an effort to convey to the reader the paper's affirmation of the value of modernity while preserving a sense of Tibetan agency and identity. This corpus has come to form a record of both significant and quotidian events, which in its own right can now be characterised as a valuable record of elements of international affairs of the day and their relevance to modern Tibetan affairs.

### **Taxonomies of medical knowledge in Tibetan literature**

Garrett, Frances, University of Toronto

While our understanding of the complex diversity of religious thought in the history of Tibet has grown considerably in the last few decades, Tibetan Studies as a field remains largely in the dark with respect to the complexities of other aspects of Tibetan intellectual and social history. This paper will focus on the development of scholastic medical traditions in Tibet through the examination of histories of medicine that describe medical epistemology by means of taxonomies of famous physicians. With this paper I intend to indicate the degree to which the origins of "Tibetan medicine" are historically presented as pluralistic and cosmopolitan, neatly reflecting Tibet's central position along the Eurasian Silk Roads and its prominence in the history of Southern, Central and Eastern Eurasia literary scholasticism generally. According to all known histories of medicine, medical knowledge in Central Tibet developed with substantial contributions from regions across Eurasia, forming a unique blend of Indian, Chinese, Greco-Arab and Central Asian theories and practices. The pluralistic diversity of medical knowledge was organized in various ways in Tibetan medical historiography. This paper will examine three such ways, all of which involve taxonomies of doctors, and all of which are found repeated, with greater or lesser detail, in each of the pre-seventeenth-century Tibetan histories that form the sources for this paper. First are taxonomies of doctors that group individuals by epithets referring to particular accomplishments: the nine who served kings, the six who are renowned for moral qualities, the four who are known for their scholarship, and so on. Second, early doctors are also classified in medical histories according to their field of specialization. Zurkhar Lodro Gyalpo's history of medicine lists fifty-seven early systems

of healing and the physicians responsible for them: thus Shantigarbha is famous for his treatment of leprosy, Dharmasala for healing poisoning cases, Cheje Nagu for the special treatment of women's diseases, and so forth. Third, Tibetan medical histories classify physicians by their place of origin. While Indian and Chinese physicians are the most common, doctors are said to have come from a range of neighboring regions as well. During the reign of Trisong Detsen, for instance, a medical congress said to have been led by the legendary eighth century figure, Yuthog Yonten Gonpo, was convened at Samye. The meeting gathered scholars from India, Kashmir, China, Persia, Guge, Dolpo, and Nepal. These scholars were asked to translate medical texts from their own languages into Tibetan, and this effort is said to have resulted in the translation of scores of medical texts. This paper will compare and analyze taxonomies of physicians found in a wide range of histories, including the Bka' thang sde lnga, Padma bka' thang, Shes bya rab gsal, Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu, Mkhas pa'i dga' ston, Sman pa rnams kyis mi shes su rung ba'i shes bya spyi'i khog dbubs, Stag lung chos 'byung, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's Khog 'bugs, and the Gso rig gces btus rin chen

phreng ba. In the process of examining how these texts organize medical knowledge through the arrangement of lists of famous physicians, questions to be addressed include the following. What qualities are emphasized in these classificatory schemes, how are they ranked internally, and what does this tell us about the early development of scholastic medical traditions? What forms of knowledge are said to be Central Tibetan, and what aspects of medical knowledge came from elsewhere? Comparing this data to the classificatory schemes of medical knowledge found in the Indian medical texts presumed to form much of the basis of Tibetan medical knowledge in the Rgyud bzhi tradition, what might this research contribute to our understanding of the internationally cosmopolitan and pluralistically diverse nature of medicine in Tibet historically?

### **The Ethics of Cultural Survival: Defining 'Tibetanness' in Mkhan po 'Jigs phun's Advice to Tibetans for the 21st Century**

Gayley, Holly, Harvard University

For contemporary lamas, the outset of a new millennium became an occasion to reflect on the future of Tibetan culture and civilization. Accordingly, a new type of gdams ngag is emerging within the People's Republic of China (PRC) in which ideas of progress and cultural survival are being articulated within a Buddhist framework. One prominent example of this new trend is Mkhan po 'Jigs phun's provocative but relatively unknown work, Advice to Tibetans of the 21st Century (Dus rabs nyer gcig pa'i gangs can pa rnams la phul ba'i snying gnam). In it, Mkhan po 'Jigs phun defines the way forward (mdun lam)



for Tibetans based on the values, erudition, and customs inherited from the glory of Tibet's imperial past and, in the process, casts Buddhist ethics as the cornerstone of social welfare both locally and globally. His decidedly anti-materialist and antiassimilationist stance nonetheless attempts to synthesize "ancient" and "modern" (gna' deng zung du sbrel) and reveals a keen awareness of the status of Tibetans as a people on the global stage. Mkhan po 'Jigs phun specifically addresses the issue of cultural survival and concurrently defines 'Tibetan-ness' or the factors without which ethnic Tibetans would cease to be a discrete nationality (mi rigs). This paper examines the strategies employed by Mkhan po 'Jigs phun in formulating a counter-hegemonic discourse that both responds to ideological challenges posed by Maoist rhetoric and appropriates the language of progress and development (yar rgyas) to promote an indigenously Tibetan and explicitly Buddhist modernity.

### **Nomads without pastures? Globalization, regionalization and livelihood security of nomads and former nomads in Kham**

Gertel, Jorg and Andreas Gruschke, Leipzig University

Regions traditionally dominated by pastoral activities have increasingly become subject to far reaching transformations as well as partial disintegrations, including total or incomplete break-up of nomadic systems. During the second half of the 20th century, the living sphere of Tibetans has undergone not just one such break-up, but several transformations, which in part also revived traditional systems of pastoral activities. The integration of the Chinese market into the world market, a growing population in an ecologically difficult environment and both chances and risks of a transformed society have induced part of the Tibetan society to change their scope of economic activities, while, at the same time, others uphold traditional ways of managing their economy. So far, Tibetan herders adapting to contemporary life are predominantly represented as suffering from changes actively generated by Tibetan pastoralists themselves. While the first is determined by the institutional, political and legal framework set up in a modernizing society, related to the urban centres to which the pastoral areas are more and more linked, of knowledge, initiative and spirit of enterprise.

In this paper we provide an outline of the scope of activities 'nomadic' Tibetans have taken during the last decade. In the beginning we present some preliminary observations on the variety of contemporary employment possibilities Tibetans in Kham have used so far. One issue monitored is the development and reasons for the disintegration of parts of the 'nomad' society, which has produced a scope of new employment possibilities not involving any pastoral subsistence – 'nomads without pastures'. At the same time, families still dealing with livestock choose from a wider range of economic activities as they did before. While some stick strictly to traditional ways of organizing their pastoral life, others transform their herds, make use of new sources of income or engage in side businesses, be it making use of new

possibilities, be it that they are forces to do so to secure their livelihood.

This will be exemplified by case studies in northern Kham's Yushu region, a Tibetan realm where Tibetan nomads formerly totally outweighed any sedentary population and where a recent 're-nomadization' is now gradually followed by a process of modern 're-configuration'. The causes, progress and effects of the transformations occurring in eastern Tibet's are due to allow the analysis of contemporary pastoral activities and their interaction with their societal contexts. The focus is on the elaboration of what delimits the scope and transition of spatial and social schemes in order to investigate which result from the transformation processes. Another focus will lie on the new forms of interaction between nomads and sedentary population, which result from the history, structure and effects of regionalization processes. In contrast to 'processes within regions' we have to analyse the 'creation of regions' in the framework of global interdependence, and as such the prospects of (nomadic) sustenance (livelihood systems).

Viewed from the perspective of economical development we are to survey the consequences of the mutual pervasion of 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' spheres. This will result in analysing the altered possibilities of access to resources as related to specific social groups, the resulting conflicts and ways to resolve as well as examining the factual prospects of securing jobs, food and resources. The perspective of 'discourse theory' can furthermore help determine the forces, paradigms and authorities which negotiate the (changing) significance of nomadism, and thus have a say in structuring the conditions under which 'nomadic' activities are increasingly abandoned or continue to exist.

### **Classes in the Classics: Historical Changes in Plant Classification in Two Medical Texts**

Glover, Denise, University of Washington

Recognized categories of plants, as presented in canonical medical texts, have changed throughout the history of Tibetan medicine. There is not absolute concordance between various texts as to the exact number and kind of plant categories or to which category a particular plant should be assigned.

In this presentation, I examine plant classification in the classic text *Rgyud bzhi* and in the contemporary text *Shel gyi me long* (published and used in the PRC). I discuss five essential differences between these texts. First, the *Rgyud bzhi* does not categorize 'plants' into any higher order, as does the *Shel gyi me long* with the category *Rtsi shing gi rigs*. Second, the *Shel gyi me long* uses physical characteristics as the primary determining characteristic for plant classification, unlike the *Rgyud bzhi* which classifies according to nature/essence (*ngo bo*) as related to efficacy. Third, the category of *thang sman* disappears in the *Shel gyi me long*; the eliding of this category indicates that morphology becomes the overriding concept for classification in the *Shel gyi me long*.

Fourth, the category of grain ('bru) gets transplanted from a category of foodstuff (*zas*) in the *Rgyud bzhi* to one of medicine

(sman) in the Shel gyi me long. Fifth, morphological aspects of the category shing sman become fewer in the Shel gyi me long; I discuss the possible significance of this. In summary, I argue that much of the reorganization in the Shel gyi me long is based on the principle of physical characteristics rather than that of nature/essence as in the Rgyud bzhi. While physicality may be a factor in a plant's nature/essence, it is not explained as such in the early medical texts. At least the particular nature/essence of a plant is not dependent upon physicality alone; it also depends on taste (ro), aftertaste (zhu rjes), and potency (nus pa). It is not so much that the Shel gyi me long ignores the important characteristics of taste, aftertaste, and potency, but rather that they are no longer organizing principles of classification as they are in the early text Rgyud bzhi. I briefly speculate as to what these changes may indicate about the cognitive world of contemporary Tibetan doctors with whom I studied, who utilize both texts for different purposes.

#### **A longitudinal study of changes and continuity among Tibetan nomads in Pala (1986-2005)**

Goldstein, Melvyn, Case Western Reserve University

Based on extensive anthropological fieldwork, the paper examines change in Pala, a nomadic pastoral area about 250 miles west of Lhasa, over the 19 year period from 1986-2005. The paper will focus on change and continuity in three substantive areas: 1. pastoral management, 2. nomad economy and standard of living, 3. society, culture and local politics. The findings of the longitudinal study suggest that although change has occurred throughout the study period, the rate of change over the past five years has accelerated greatly, for example, motorcycles, solar lights, lines of credit in banks are now common although they did not exist as late as 2000.

#### **Research on the Strategic Development of Tourism Industry in Tibetan Area - Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture Taken as an Example**

Nanjie, Gongbao

Recently, tourism is one of the fast developing industries in the world, and local governments in China as well as Tibetan regions are developing tourism in the round to change the poor status. Meanwhile it is the current situation that the whole country is changing quickly, economy is developing and information is exchanging frequently. Under this historical background, it is rather difficult to improve economic levels in Tibetan regions completely through industry, agriculture, science and technology in such short time. So many questions are put forward, for example, how to turn the unique culture of Tibetans, beautiful sceneries and simple-hearted customs into economic advantages to promote its economic development in poor Tibetan regions. At the same time, the key content of my paper is how to preserve, excavate,

inherit and innovate upon Tibetan culture in the process of tourism exploitation so that its vital force will be strengthened. This is also a historical task in the process of tourism development in Tibetan regions. This paper will mainly apply the research methods of the field survey and comparative research. At first, it synoptically presents the current status of tourism industry in Tibetan regions; then it takes Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture as the research object and systematically analyzes the resources and current status of tourism there in details. Simultaneously, this thesis studies on successful cases both home and abroad, and provides some countermeasures, which are available for Gannan to develop tourism. Based on the continuous contemplation and research on development trends in Tibetan regions mixed with knowledge in multi-subjects, the paper audaciously carries out some innovations and puts forwards several strategic measures for tourism development in Gannan and even in Tibetan regions. It further analyzes and studies on the relationship between Tibetan culture and tourism, the link of Tibetan culture to experience economy, and the relationships among preservation, application and innovation of Tibetan culture in the process of tourism development.

There are four chapters in all. Chapter one presents the background of tourism both home and abroad, and analyzes the current status of tourism development in whole Tibetan regions. Then it takes Gannan prefecture as an example and adopts the method of SWOT analysis to describe the tourism industry in Gannan. Meanwhile, it appraises the tourism resources and its competitive advantages. Finally, it states the roles of tourism among other industries in Gannan. Chapter two emphasizes on the current status of tourism industry in Gannan, the factors to confine its development and the main problems among them. Then it takes Xiahe as an example and deeply analyzes the market trends of tourism in Gannan with the method of spot check. Chapter three puts forwards some countermeasures to develop tourism in Gannan from macro and micro aspects. Meanwhile, it does some deep researches on the safeguard system of sustainable development in tourism, including tourism industrial management, industrial laws and policies, human resources and environmental protection. At last, it brings forwards some creative ideas about the service system together with tourism in Gannan and the development of seven counties and one city. Chapter four proposes the development strategy of tourism in Gannan as a whole, which is also the strategic countermeasure for Gannan to develop tourism quickly and saliently. And it refers to four aspects, which are strategies to develop cities, exploit products, to expand the market and to unite the other areas. Finally, the thesis sums up the principles and methods to exploit tourism in whole Tibetan regions based on Gannan, and then it will realize the goals to buildup the vital force of Tibetan



culture and protect the environment of Tibetan areas through tourism so that tourism in Gannan and Tibetan regions will develop sustainably.

### **The Roles of Environment and Identity in Contemporary Tibetan Art**

Gyatso, Gonkar, Sweet Tea House Gallery

I was born in Lhasa. After formal art education (primarily in Chinese ink painting) in Beijing in the 1980s, I returned to Lhasa to teach and started my career as an artist there. I left Lhasa in the early 1990s and arrived in Dharamsala seeking traditional Tibetan art and culture as an inspiration. I emigrated again in the mid 1990s to England, and earned an MA from St. Martin's College of Art and Design. I have been based in London, where I opened the Sweet Tea House Gallery for contemporary Tibetan art, showing my own works as well as those of Tibetan artists from Lhasa. I returned to Lhasa for the first time in 2003. So, from Beijing to Lhasa, to Dharamsala, and then to London—and now between London and Lhasa—I have always been an artist experiencing very different environments and working through various cultural resources. While these environments and resources all impact my art work, the diasporic art world that I now partake in London (in the midst of artists from Africa, South Asia, and other places) is the one that allows me the most freedom to reflect upon and express the hybridity that is significant to me as an artist and a Tibetan.

Nowadays, I am reflecting on the differences between my environment and the art I produce, and that of the Tibetan artists in Lhasa, though we share feelings about our cultural backgrounds and present hybridity. In this regard, I will reflect upon my experience of “Tibetan paintings” from a diasporic space that is rarely available to many other Tibetan artists — although a large portion of my hybridity is theirs as well.

### **Dietetics and Skin Care in Tibetan Medicine**

Gyal, Yungbum, University of Indiana

Tibetans have held secret natural health care remedies for over a thousand years. Along with the natural human evolutionary drive for survival, the instinctive urge to gather knowledge about health has guided Tibetans in discovering and developing their own unique theories--particularly regarding the beneficial selection of foods and beverages. Remedies for the prevention and cure of the illnesses in daily life--including skin care-- have proved reliable in dealing with the harsh living conditions of the Tibetan plateau: the “roof of the world.” Nowadays, a growing proportion of people are turning to the use of natural healing processes or alternative medicines. Tibetan medicine is one of the growing holistic approaches to health care in the West, Tibetan medical doctors and pharmacists have been carrying on the research and manufacturing of natural herbal products to meet the vast consumer demand for natural herbal products.

In this paper, I will first talk briefly the concepts and

development of the Tibetan theory of dietetics and skin care. Second, I will discuss the vegetarianism, its practice and benefit for health according to Tibetan medicine. Third, I will speak about the impact on Tibetan dietetics and skin care created by the assimilation of Tibetans into this modern and “new” world. Fourth, I will focus on my research on the newly developed Sorig herbal nutraceutical and cosmetic products of the Men-Tsee-Khang created by blending modern methods and Tibetan traditional formulations. Last, I will present the challenge and difficulties of legal and regulatory issues affecting the practice of Tibetan medicine and the distribution of herbal products in the West.

### **Rinchen Rilbu for the Rich?**

Hofe, Theresia, University College London

This paper explores medical pluralism in Ngamring, a County in the western Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Going beyond the mere documentation of medical pluralism, I will look at the political, social and economic factors influencing the current shifts in the availability, affordability and quality of biomedical and Tibetan medical practices, and their practitioners as well as patient's views and experiences thereof. By setting a relatively remote area in the context of more recent health policies of the Chinese Nation state, increased commercialisation and marketisation of “traditional medicines” in urban centres in the TAR, other Chinese provinces as well as in the West,

I will investigate the impact of some aspects of the “modernisation” Sowa Rigpa, on the availability, quality and affordability of Tibetan medicine in the rural areas of the western TAR. In opposition to Tibetan medicines, biomedical services and drugs are to a larger extent available there and reimbursed by the so called Co-operative Medical Services (CMS) re-introduced in many parts of China in the 1990s, although their quality vary greatly. Many rural Tibetans make use of often intravenously given biomedicines and appreciate them as working “faster” than Tibetan medicines, which are often considered “to slowly take out the roots” of illnesses. Although Sowa rigpa is practiced and sought after outside of the few governmental institutions where Tibetan medicine is actually available, I will argue that as a result of a complex interplay of historical circumstances and for various political, social and economic reasons, Tibetan medical practice in

Ngamring is in decline. A comparison of my ethnographic data together with other studies on Tibetan medical practice in the rural TAR with research on Tibetan medical practice in Lhasa suggests that there is a shift not only from Tibetan medical education, but also of Tibetan Medical practice as well as the production of Tibetan medicine from the periphery to the centre.

### **Challenges for the International Cooperation in Health in Tibet**

Wenjuan, Huang, China Tibetology Research Center

International cooperation in health in Tibet has become

one of a major channel of international cooperation source in Tibet since 1991, and it is still going to be an important cooperation for local Tibetan people. Success and failure of the cooperation were occurred among those non-government organizations during the decades. Some of them are expanded year by year, some are withdrawn from Tibet after several years' cooperation, and some are the new comers. What are the reasons for those organizations to keep on going in Tibet, but what are the reasons for the others leave from Tibet, and what the challenges they are facing. There are many reasons. Some of them are objective, and some is subjective. Is it because of the culture difference? Or is it because of the language difference? Or is it the problems of others, such as communication and so on? How to sustainable the cooperation? In the studies, the authors, with rich experience by working with both the Tibetan local health agencies and international organizations /NGOs in Tibet, are going to conduct several case studies by interview several governments agencies in relation with health and several international non-government organizations that are executing their cooperative projects to bring up the causes of the success and failure. Subsequently the recommendation will be provided as the reference for future cooperation for sides: the government agencies and the international non-government agencies.

#### **Of Horses and Motorbikes: Negotiating modernities in pastoral Amdo of Sichuan**

Iselin, Lilian, Independent Scholar

In Tibetan areas of the Peoples Republic of China change has accelerated since the early 1980s and the introduction of the household responsibility system with its entailment of more economic freedom. In pastoralist Amdo as well as in all other Tibetan regions the government policies of 'Developing the Western Regions', urbanisation and rural policies are having an impact on local societies. While at some level pastoralist activities - herding, milking, etc. - are going on according to age-old patterns, the pastoralists also actively engage with what is oftentimes termed 'modernity'. Winter houses, fenced pastures, increased electricity supplies, modern means of transportation, education for all etc. are, in the pastoralist context, equated with modernisation and development. It not only changes the pastoralists' way of life outwardly, but also has a profound effect on their relationship to the land, notions of community as well as their negotiation of identity. To come to a more nuanced understanding of how changes and continuities are negotiated in a pastoralist setting, I suggest focusing on one aspect that links past and present: a closer examination of the shifting places of horses and motorbikes in terms of use and meaning ascribed to them will allow us to link past and present of a pastoral society in a way that might give insight in some of the processes of how changes and continuities are negotiated.

As for many nomadic people of the Asian steppe, the

horse has traditionally taken an immensely important role in the life of Tibetan pastoralists. Good horsemanship not only helped in the daily practicalities of herding but also kept the nomad population highly mobile, and, as has been argued, warlike, impulsive as well as elusive to any kind of control. Horses have become an integral part of nomadic identity and have shaped their way of life, their social relations, notions towards community, and not least, their relationship to the land. While horsemanship is still valued and expected of the nomad, its use has become contested in some areas. For one, as the nomad populations of Amdo become more settled through the construction of houses, privatisation of land, fencing, and state control, mobility - although still of importance - is severely curtailed. At the same time, modernisation, and recent development policies have brought new means of transport to the grasslands (of which the motorbike is one) as well as improved roads connecting townships and outlying settlements. In a number of pastoralist areas of Sichuan the use of motorbikes has greatly increased over the last five to ten years and I contend that although for some families the purchase of a bike might be a pragmatic decision, it has deeper implications.

An examination of the uses of the motorbike in the pastoralist context, the meanings that are ascribed to it, the place it takes not only as a means of transport, but also as a symbol in the public and private space, links usefully to the question of how continuities and changes in the pastoralist context are negotiated. While the horse as a meaningful symbol of the pastoralist world is losing importance, the shift to the modern horse - the motorbike - indicates different conceptualizations of being a nomad and a changing relationship to the land and to being a nomad. Comparing the two in the present context without neglecting the historical perspective, will open up our understanding of how identity constructions in the modern Amdo context may involve new symbols; but are at the same time contingent on past meanings and traditions.

This paper is based on field research conducted predominantly in Amdo pastoralist areas of Sichuan (Hongyuan county and Ruo'ergai county in Aba prefecture, Sichuan) with special focus on one township in Ruo'ergai. For comparative purposes other Amdo pastoralist areas may be visited to gain a broader understanding of how local the findings are. However local they may be, I contend that it is in the particular that we may be able to discover how a specific Tibetan society is dealing with changing notions of community and identity. Modernity and modernization is making its way into Tibetan pastoralist societies. Horses and motorbikes, not as two opposites of a pole, but as shifting points of reference for the Amdo pastoralists, reveal underlying processes of how they are adapting to a fast changing world, how they enact new ways of being a nomad.

## Tibet: Who are the Developers?

Kauffmann, Thomas, University of Oxford

The 1950s Chinese invasion of Tibet took place in the face of indifference from the rest of the world. It was only at the end of the 50s, with the massive arrival of Tibetan refugees in South Asia, that the West really began to understand what was happening in Tibet. Later on, in the middle of the 60s, awareness of the tragic situation of the Tibetans – both in Tibet and in exile – developed in the West.

International aid was hastily organized to answer the needs of the Tibetan refugees, who were installed mainly in Indian and Nepalese settlements. Western countries began also to welcome them. On the other hand, international aid to Tibet itself became a possibility only much later, in the 80s, when China began tentatively to open itself to the outside world. At the beginning of the 90s, dozens of aid projects were launched in Tibet by developing countries under the control of China<sup>1</sup>.

Today the Tibetans are assisted both inside and outside their country. This aid – be it public or private – is the work of two ideologies foreign to Tibet: the Western and the Chinese. In the current political and economic context, Tibet has no choice but to accept these two “crutches”.

The Tibetan refugees in exile were so successful that the Western international organisations took them as a model of integration. This success can be explained by various factors<sup>2</sup>, but particularly by the huge popularity of Tibet in the West as the repository of an “authentic” ancient knowledge. In Tibet, on the contrary, the development organisations (which are often the same as those that help the refugees) work under the strict control of China, which considers the Tibetan backwards and uninteresting.

There is a considerable difference in the working environments of these organizations inside and outside Tibet, but in both cases their policies and actions are located on a highly political and ideological state that is far more sensitive than in the case of other communities. Even more important, the actions of these organisations have a direct impact on the future and the survival of a whole culture<sup>3</sup>. The organisations therefore have real power over the future development of Tibet. Nevertheless, the causes and motivations of this power, which is not only measured in material resources, remain sometimes vague and even mysterious. Now, it seems essential to know what exactly motivates the actions and the work of these organisations for a complete understanding of the Tibetans’ development.

While the installation of the Tibetans in exile<sup>4</sup> and the issue of development projects in Tibet<sup>5</sup> have both been the focus of extensive research, the motivations of the international organisations towards Tibet have hardly, if at all, been studied<sup>6</sup>. This latter point is the main topic of my doctoral research.

For my presentation in the 11th seminar of the IATS, I shall limit myself to drawing a portrait of the developers

themselves, and more particularly of those who choose to work in the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are assisting Tibetans.

I shall structure my presentation around these main questions that allow the study of these developers:

- 1) Why did they choose to work in an NGO?
- 2) Why did they choose to work for Tibet (Professional career choice, political commitment, religious feeling etc.), and in what way do they regard Tibet as different from any other culture?
- 3) How did they choose this type of engagement?
- 4) What is their vision of Tibet?
- 5) What is their knowledge of Tibet? What is the nature of this knowledge (first hand, testimonies, history...)?
- 6) What are their relations with the Tibetan Government in exile and with the People’s Republic of China?
- 7) What is their vision of Tibet’s future? Is their work influenced by this vision?

While answering these various questions I shall draw a portrait of the developers of Tibet, a step towards the general understanding of the motivations of the NGOs that help Tibetans.

<sup>1</sup>See Forbes, 1992

<sup>2</sup>See Norbu, 2001 and Mahmoudi, 1992, among others

<sup>3</sup>See Frechette, 2002 for an important study of the dynamics of international aid among the Tibetans in Nepal

<sup>4</sup>See, among others, Goldstein, 1975 and 1976, or more quantitative: Saklani, 1978 and 1984; Chhetri 1990

<sup>5</sup>See Forbes, 1992; Clarke, 1987

<sup>6</sup>Devoe, 1983, Frenchette, 2002 and Klieger, 1992 discuss these issues in a peripheral way, thereby missing some important elements. My research will be a thorough study of these organisations’ motivations and objectives.

## Down East in Rawang Country

Klieger, P. Christiaan, California Academy of Sciences

This paper is a report of ongoing ethnographic research among the peoples of Hkakabo Razi range at the eastern extreme of the Himalayas, an area encompassing portions of India, Burma (Myanmar), Yunnan, and the Kham region of Tibet. This region is considered a ‘homeland’ of the Tibeto-Burman language family due to its linguistic diversity. Here one may find all major branches of the family except Karen, and a large number of the family sub-branches. For decades this region has been off-limits to ethnographic research, due to insurgency and unsettled borders. With the improvement of roads in China, and a general stabilization of the frontiers, it has now been possible for several anthropologists and linguists to work in the region, Hkakabo Razi itself is a 19,000-ft peak that delimits the tridentine border between India, Burma, and China (Tibet and Yunnan).

This report presents a survey of the Rawang peoples of Hkakabo Razi, whose oral histories, language, and perhaps genetic heritage point to a fission from ancestral Tibetans before the later moved on to the high plateaus of Inner Asia. Current work in Dza Yul valley in southwest Kham, as has previous anthropological work in the extreme north of Burma and adjacent Dulongjiang valley in Yunnan, has indicated a long and checked history of strife and discord between the



Rawang and more recent Khampa settlers. Traditionally Rawang were hunters and gatherers, spending centuries in the deep forests of the headwaters of Irrawaddy, Salween, Mekong, and Yangtze rivers. Preyed upon by slave traders in the 19th to early 20th century, the Rawang have developed a lifestyle based on the gathering and trade of medicinal products from the forest, supplemented by hunting, small-scale horticulture, and wage labor. Prior to the arrival of Evangelical Christian missionaries in the mid-20th century, the Rawang practiced an animistic religion. Iron smelting, basketry, and textile weaving reached highly refined states prior to the modern era. Although essentially one people, the Rawang are considered one of China's national minorities, are recognized by Myanmar government as a tribal component of the Kachin, and are a Hill Tribe within the Arunachal state in India. It is thought that they previously had occupied a much larger region, but were encroached upon by the Khampa settlers in the mid-19th to early 20th centuries. It is argued that the same type of marginalization had been placed upon the Rawang groups as were suffered by the Monpa and Lhoba to the west by more dominant Tibetan groups moving into the region.

#### **Transgressive Chinese Popular Framings of Tibet: The stories of Ma Jian**

Lafitte, Gabriel, University of Victoria

In 1985 a 30 year old Chinese propaganda photographer, poet and writer set off for Tibet, to find himself, hoping for salvation, mostly from his own demons. A high fever of cultural creativity was sweeping China. Prosperity was rising, the capricious god of wealth was fast returning. Ma Jian was tired of staging clichéd propaganda pix, and equally mistrustful of the official embrace of capitalist accumulation, the substitution of a white goods revolution for class warfare. The result of his pilgrimage was a suite of sensational stories set in Tibet, among the first framings of Tibet through nonofficial Chinese eyes available for popular consumption. Ma Jian composes scenes are a passion play in which blood, entrails, sex and death intermingle, mixing desire and disgust inextricably. Ma Jian's Tibetans appear to be human and adult, ordinary folk such as shepherds, lamas, villagers. Like young children, his Tibetans are untamed, barely ashamed, driven by greed, superficially civilised but behind the façade wild and voracious. They take what they desire and consume it, oblivious of the cost, both to those they consume and even to themselves. They are monsters, childish, monstrous slaves to their unrestrained appetites, unable to cease the most wicked but compelling transgressions. They commit incest with mother and daughter, they plot elaborate mechanical revenge against unfaithful wives, they suck life from the young and lively, swallowing anything and everything they fancy. They are China's unnameable id, untameable libido, re-enacting the horrors of the Cultural

Revolution. China had just emerged from its' revolutionary carnival of denunciation and destruction, leaving many in shock or denial. Ma Jian had the courage and imagination to relive trauma, made possible only by transposing these transgressive dinners of death and blood onto Tibet.

Ma Jian's work makes sense if read closely in the context of post revolutionary traumas that are barely nameable in Chinese context, but which can be enacted in all their transgressiveness, when set in Tibet. His oeuvre can also be read as a protest against the return of the god of wealth as the new meaning of life. However, Ma Jian is consistently read, by reviewers in Euroamerican global modernity as literalist ethnography and straight reportage, revealing the true violence of Tibetans behind the romantic shangri-la façade. This literalism needs contextualising, by turning to Chinese Marxist tools of analysis that reveal inner dynamics of Ma Jian's disturbing dystopian vision of Tibet.

#### **De-constructing the Earth Protector: The Shambhala Center, and the Tibetan community in Colorado**

Lama, Kunga Tsering, University of Colorado

This paper will explore the gulf between the Tibetan community and the Shambhala community in Boulder, Colorado, to provide a critical analysis of the recent emergence of "Western Buddhism" and its impact on global Tibetan identity formation. In contrast to other cities in the United States, Boulder is unique in that it has a high concentration of spiritual seekers and a large community of people who follow the Shambhala tradition. Visitors to Boulder usually get overwhelmed by the number of "Free Tibet" bumper stickers, prayer flags, and other markers of "Tibet" that seem to be virtually everywhere. The concentration of Tibetan Buddhist practitioners and the markers seem to indicate fervent support for Tibet and Tibetans. Thus, newcomers and even long-term residents of Boulder assume that the Tibetan community must be thriving from all of the support it musters.

In contrast to these assumptions, I have found a significant gulf between the local Tibetan community and the Tibetan Buddhist community in Boulder. This paper explores this gulf, explaining how it is produced and maintained despite the close proximity of the two communities. I have been very active in the Tibetan community since my arrival in Boulder in the summer of 2003 and have even served on the board of Tibetan Association of Colorado (TAC) in 2004. My view of the Shambhala center, and its rift with the local Tibetan community, comes from an inside out perspective, from the Tibetan end of the spectrum, rather than from my engagement with the Shambhala community. My concern is not that the two should get along because of their similar religious orientation, but rather to examine the ways in which Buddhist practices in Shambhala have been transformed to accommodate Western followers. Furthermore, I will argue that the

gulf between the Tibetans and Shambhala members also signals underlying tensions between the two communities. In addition to issues of authenticity and belongingness, the gulf between the communities also reflects sectarian tension within Tibetan schools of Buddhism complicated by the pressure to adapt to the Western socio-cultural and economic landscape.

Shambhala today consists of over 160 dharma centers in the West with its main base in Boulder, Colorado. It was founded by late Chogyam Trungpa, one of the first Tibetan spiritual masters to come to the West. He was born and raised in Kham, and fled Tibet in 1960. Trungpa was recognized as a reincarnation of a prominent Tibetan spiritual master of the Kagyu sect and was appointed the head of Surmang monastery in Nangchen, eastern Tibet. He established the largest Tibetan Buddhist organization in the United States. Trungpa was a very charismatic figure in the Western stage, but also a very controversial figure both within the Tibetan community and the Buddhist community at large. Since his death in 1987, his son, Sakyong Mipham (whose name means the Earth Protector) has taken charge of all the centers, which together make up Shambhala International. Except for Sakyong who is the highest authority in the Shambhala tradition, all other prominent figures in the extended organization, including all teachers and instructors.

Although some recent scholarly works have dealt with the emergence of "Western Buddhism," there are hardly any studies examining the issues of Western Buddhism in relation to US Tibetan diaspora. Being both a new American and a Tibetan myself, I am in a unique position to conduct this research, which requires both an in-depth knowledge about the Tibetan diasporic community and Shambhala community. The research on which this paper is based includes participant observation among the Tibetan community in Colorado, and a series of semi-structured interviews with members of the Shambhala community, particularly some of the organization's oldest members. This data was collected over a 3 year period, from the summer of 2003 through summer of 2006, focuses on narratives of both Tibetans and Shambhala members in Boulder, Colorado.

I show in the paper that the case of Shambhala provides an opportunity to employ a post-colonial lens to examine the role of Western Buddhist institutions. I argue that Shambhala can be viewed simultaneously as an imperial force and as a subordinate to a dominating imperial power. Shambhala is imperial in the sense that it is able to transform landscapes and subjectivities. I see this in Shambhala's effort to build Buddhist monuments, Dharma centers, and schools, as well as in the process of proselytizing Westerners. The paper explores these themes of postcoloniality and the imperial in order to examine the role of Shambhala and its position in the new world. The paper will thus complement recent efforts in Tibetan studies to make space for work that might help bridge Tibetan studies with other theoretical literatures.

Overall, I will provide a brief historical background of

Shambhala tradition in the West and sociocultural context in which it has been engulfed since its inception in the 1970s with Trungpa's coming to the United States. I will also briefly explore the effects of Judeo-Christian traditions of Western society on the tradition of Shambhala, which may have some of the answers for understanding the process of transformation of Shambhala practice from its Tibetan source to its present form. Finally, interviews with Shambhala members and Tibetans in Boulder/Denver area will help us further understand the details of Western Buddhism, and its effects on contemporary Tibetan identity formation.

### **Temporary labor migration in Lhasa City**

Rong, Ma, Peking University

A questionnaire survey was conducted in Lhasa in 2005, about 1500 temporary migrants were interviewed. Based on the data obtained from this survey, the basic demographic, economic, and social characteristics of these temporary migrants were identified and analysed. The study provides more up-dated information of socio-economic development and ethnic relationship in Lhasa city. The findings can also be compared with the similar survey conducted in other cities in the western China.

### **Mobility and Urbanization Among Amdo Tibetans**

Makley, Charlene, Reed College

In the past decade, and especially since the "Develop the West" campaign was launched in 1999, Tibetans in the PRC have experienced rapid changes in form of social and spatial mobility that have altered the relationships between rural regions and rapidly expanding urban centers. In this paper, I will draw on preliminary fieldwork conducted in 2005 among Amdo Tibetans in Tsholho (ch. Hainan) and Malho (ch. Huangnan) prefectures to sketch out some of the implications of these changes for variously positioned Tibetans. I consider how Tibetans conceptualize and put into practice the relationships between social and spatial mobility, the implications of mobility for notions of personhood and morality, and the ways in which local cosmologies (including notions of moral obligation and reciprocity, as well as relationships with deities and ritual experts) encounter powerful capitalist ideals of national and personal progress and opportunity.

### **Idioms of meaning in Tibetan medical consultations in the UK**

Millard, Colin, University of Edinburgh

This paper is based on research carried out between October 2002 and June 2004 in clinics of Tibetan medicine in the UK run by the Tara Institute of Tibetan medicine. The Tara Institute runs clinics of Tibetan medicine every week in Edinburgh, once a month in Glasgow, London, the Kagyu Samye Ling Tibetan Centre at Eskdalemuir in Dumfriesshire, and up until recently once a month in Dundee. The Tibetan doctor who practises in these clinics, Lobsang Dhonden, is a graduate of the Lhasa Medical Institute in Tibet.



The data on 585 clinical interactions included: general information about the patient; what the patient said about his or her condition; Dr Dhonden's diagnosis; the discussion that took place between Dr Dhonden and the patient; Dr Dhonden's conclusion about the patient's condition; whether the patient had consulted with other medical practitioners; the duration of the condition; whether a biomedical classification had been made and by whom and how this affected the consultation; the form of treatment given by Dr Dhonden and the patient's response to it.

In this paper I will look specifically at issues related to communication and epistemology. I will examine the different kinds of illness narratives that the patients used to describe their condition, and how Dr Dhonden interpreted these illness narratives and made sense of them in Tibetan medical terms. I will explore the patient's use of biomedical terms, folk notions and metaphors in the illness narrative and how Dr Dhonden related to these representations.

### **Song and dance style and genre and Tibetan national and regional identities**

Morcom, Anna, SOAS

This paper looks at ideas and concepts of Tibetanness and Tibetan identities as represented, constructed and embodied in and by music, dance and performance style in contemporary, popular, traditional and historical genres. Through the examination of a selection of popular and official Tibetan national styles and traditional regional styles, it explores the building of both national and regional identities through musical style and genre in the contemporary and pre-modern era. The paper firstly briefly examines three modern overarching Tibetan music or performance styles as exhibited in Chinese government dance troupes, the exile government dance troupe and new or 'pop' music genres, illustrating the contemporary homogenising or centralising forces of political agendas and mass media in creating definitive pan-Tibetan styles and identities in both Tibet and exile.

The paper then turns to the past. With a region as vast and sparsely populated as Tibet, before modern media and the politically motivated mass drives to unite or define Tibet as a whole, Tibetan Culture can be seen more as a continuum than a monolith, albeit with religion, for example, an actively centralising force. Drawing on recent fieldwork on a selection of genres in Lhasa, Amdo (Gannan) and Kham (Kandze), this paper examines both the relationship and the distinct identities of distant regions in terms of musical culture.

### **Tibetan Nationalism in Labrang, Amdo: The Case of Apa Alo**

Nietupski, Paul, John Carroll University

The Tibetan national consciousness has always included

Amdo, but the region's place in the Tibetan nation has been contested, at least from the beginning of the Manchu Qing Dynasty. The Manchus, the Mongols, the regional Muslims and the Chinese have made claims of ownership of Amdo. This paper argues that through often difficult interactions with their neighbors the Amdo Tibetans have had and continue to have a strong sense of Tibetan national identity. The paper will focus on Labrang Monastery and its support properties, one of the key Amdo Tibetan communities.

The key exemplar in this study is Apa Alo, Losang Tsewang (1903-1997), in Chinese, Huang Zhengqing. Apa Alo was a layman, but as the older brother of two of Labrang's incarnate lamas and adoptive parent of a third, he was in effect a functionary of the Tibetan Buddhist system. This remarkable individual was at various times a operative of Feng Yuxiang's army, the Nationalist Chinese and most recently the Chinese Communist Party. He was over time an ally and enemy of the Mongols and the Muslims, and appropriate to Amdo's location, able to communicate in the languages, cultures and politics of his neighbors. He was in this respect a force for modernity and inter-ethnic dialogue and diplomacy. Through all of his roles and negotiations this paper shows that

Apa Alo was always a Tibetan nationalist who never lost sight of his heritage and his commitment to preserve his Tibetan community and culture.

The sources for this project include interviews with Apa Alo, several of his clan members, and his contemporaries, both friends and enemies. Literary sources include writings in Tibetan and Chinese by Apa Alo, by his contemporaries and later biographers and scholars.

### **Vulnerable Groups in the Public Health Care of Tibet**

Norbu, Tenzin, Burnet Institute

The HIV situation in Tibet is of great concern. Not only is Tibet situated in a region adjacent to areas where there are concentrated epidemic levels of HIV prevalence exceeding five per cent in sub-populations, such as sex workers and intravenous drug users, it is also characterized by a lack of serological surveillance and high levels of ignorance among the population about Sexually Transmissible Infections (STIs) and HIV.

As a result, it is not surprising that so far there have only been 26 HIV cases recorded in the Tibet Autonomous Region, some of which were located in the Nepal-Tibet border region of Zhengmu (Dram), and only some which involved residents of Tibet. However, given the well established and growing sex industry, the increased mobility of local residents to other parts of China, the large number of inter-regional migrants into Tibet, the changes in sexual behaviour among Tibetan youth, the high prevalence of STIs and the cultural avoidance of subjects related to sexual matters, the people of Tibet are at serious risk of an HIV epidemic.

## **Between tribe and state: leadership and authority amongst nomads of Amdo**

Pirie, Fernanda, University of Oxford

The “household responsibility system” introduced in Amdo in the early 1980s allowed the nomads to reform themselves into the tribal groups that had existed before 1958. Whilst most insist that these groups are substantially the same as they were previously, the power of several of the former leaders has been removed. Monasteries like Labrang, the kings of Sokwo and Ngawa and the ruling families of Golok for example, can no longer appoint headmen to the tribes in their areas. This paper examines the modern forms of leadership that have emerged in their place, contrasting the experiences in Golok and in Machu.

In Golok, a powerful confederacy of tribes was ruled by hereditary families. Strong leadership meant that more local groups (rephor) were relatively weak. Under the modern administration the power of the former ruling families has substantially been removed and local groups have little autonomy. In Machu, by contrast, where several tribes were formerly governed by representatives of Labrang, local groups were more autonomous and the former tribal structures have largely reemerged, albeit with locally appointed headmen. In both cases, however, local leaders are adapting their forms of authority to the changing circumstances of state control. In Golok, members of the former ruling families have come to be recognised by the local administrators as the most effective mediators for tribal feuds and are reconstructing their former status in this way. In Machu, by contrast, local headmen are drawing the governmental administrators into their patterns of power and authority, calling on them to settle boundaries and restrain violence when they judge that their own systems of mediation require a form of external authority. The paper argues that reactions to changes in the modern administration need to be considered against the background of historical forms of power and leadership in the area.

## **Yak Loan and Sheep Loan Project**

Rigdrol The Bridge Fund – Xining, China

Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is located in the southwest of Qinghai Province, the People's Republic of China. The Prefecture consists of six counties with a population of 140,000 and 97% of them are Tibetan. The whole prefecture has small agriculture area; more than 95% are nomads. Jigdril County is situated in the southeastern of Qinghai Province. The county has 6 townships, 22 administrative villages, 84 natural villages with a population of 17,931, of which 95 percent of Tibetan. Maqu County is located in the southwestern of Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, the People's Republic of China. The County has 8 townships, 36 administrative villages,

232 natural with villages and covers 10190.80 lands with a population of around 30,000 people.

This paper will briefly describe the reasons why there are

two different results from same used project implementation system of sheep loan project in Nima and Madma Township, Maqu County. Secondly talk about the most effective way that nomads control their own husbandry products and third is to talk about resettlement influences to nomads. The objective of both sheep loan and yak loan is to reduce poverty through micro-loaning in rural nomad areas.

## **A short history of Indo-Tibetan alchemy**

Samuel, Geoffrey, Cardiff University

The development of Tantra in India was closely entangled with alchemy, in the sense of physical operations intended to bring about transformations in substances, both external and internal to the human body. Concepts, practices and recipes deriving from Indian tantric alchemy form an important part of Tibetan medical and health practices into modern times. They underlie in particular both the widely-used “Precious Pills” (rin chen ril bu) and the bcud len (=Skt. Rasayana) practices used as part of Tantric long-life practices. The Indian history of this traditions has been extensively researched in recent years by scholars such as David White and Arion Rosu, and recent developments in Tantric historiography open exciting new possibilities for understanding the development of “external” and “internal” alchemy within Indian Buddhism. However, there has been little systematic attention to the Tibetan appropriations of this material since the early work of Todd Fenner and Michael Walter in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This paper attempts an assessment of what we know about the nature of these traditions in India and of the ways in which they were taken up and developed by Tibetans, in particular relation to medical and long-life practices.

## **Negotiating Tibetan and Western Medical Systems: Case Studies of Tibetan Medical Practice in Qinghai**

Schrempf, Mona, Humboldt University

Based on case studies among doctors of Tibetan medicine in Qinghai (fieldwork in 2005 and 2006) I will address the issue of how Tibetan and Western medical systems are negotiated and combined in medical practice. When comparing different Tibetan medical hospitals and private doctor's practices with each other, it becomes clear that there are both common and different factors. These will be explored further in this paper. The reasoning of doctors of Tibetan medicine and their patients' attitudes and understanding concerning their choice of medicine will be compared, while the professional training of a doctor, his personality, and the general situation of health care in a given place will be taken into account as well.

## **When the Rebkong ‘One Thousand Nine Hundred Ritual Dagger Holders’ Assemble: Large-Scale Collective Rituals as a Mode of Organization among Amdo Tantrists**

Sihle, Nicolas, University of Virginia

In the Rebkong and surrounding areas of Amdo, every year large collective rituals—some of them famed, century-

old traditions, some of them recent creations inspired by the latter—are performed by tantrists (Tib. *sngags-pa*) on a whole range of levels, starting from the village level up to the regional (for instance Rebkong) level, and occasionally even beyond. The particular importance of those rituals lies in the fact that tantrists, in comparison to their monastic counterparts, represent a much more decentralized form of Buddhist clergy, that is largely devoid of permanent institutional manifestations comparable to monasteries and monastic networks. I will argue that these collective rituals constitute in effect a major mode of organization of this non-monastic clergy, which raises important questions on the links between community, ritual, place and memory. A ritual of historically exceptional size, held in Achung Namdzong in July 2004, in which more than 3000 tantrists from all over Amdo participated, will be examined in this light.

# **'Tidings from Tibet'. Pentecostal missionary activity on the Sino-Tibetan border, 1910-1950**

van Spengen, Wim, Leiden University

In his seminal 'Introduction' to the edited volume *Cultural encounters on China's ethnic frontiers* (Seattle 1995), Stevan Harrell introduces the concept of "civilizing project", briefly described by him as the interaction between a group of people from a civilizing centre with other "peripheral" groups in terms of inequality. This interaction implies the "center's claim to a superior degree of civilization" relative to the groups encountered. One form of such a civilizing project is the Christian missionary project which, next to its main enterprise of bringing the Gospel, often had an agenda of modernization too: raising the people's lives to the level of the modern Christian nations in fields like health, education, and technology. Although the Christian civilizing project in China in the first half of the twentieth century was directed to Han as well as non-Han peoples, the latter, in general, proved more receptive to conversion, possibly because they saw the missionaries as a counterweight to the expansive Han. By the year 1900, a great variety of Christian missions in China had come into existence. Next to the established Roman Catholic Church which had long functioned within an age-old Confucian environment, there had occurred a proliferation of Protestant missions, many of them evangelical in outlook, quite a few interdenominational in their missionary endeavour, but some of them more exclusive in their doctrinal outlook. To the latter category belongs the Pentecostal movement such as it quickly arose in America and Europe after the turn of the twentieth century. Soon developing a strong missionary drive, Pentecostal missionary activity took shape, among others, in southern China and along the Sino-Tibetan border. In the period 1910-1950 groups of missionaries were active in or near the border areas of Tibet. As their free evangelical stance, their revivalist background,

their strong belief in the power of the Holy Ghost, and their eschatological expectations set them somewhat apart from mainstream and more mundane missionary enterprise, the interesting question arises as to how Pentecostal missionary activity as a civilizing project from the centre interacted with Sino-Tibetan frontier society. From a methodological point of view, this may be too absolutistic a formulation of the research problem, as the decentralized institutional nature of Pentecostal groups, certainly in its early days, may prevent a uniform answer to this question. Different host populations along the Sino-Tibetan border too, may have responded differently to identical missionary impulses. Yet, the main aim of this study is to reconstruct the social history of the Pentecostal-Tibetan encounter in all its social and spiritual forms. The analysis will also take cognizance of the rapidly changing political-historical context of China's border areas, as well as developments within the Pentecostal communities themselves, because both may have altered the parameters of the interaction with the Tibetans. Regionally this study will focus, firstly, on the Gansu-Tibetan border area, where the interdenominational Christian and Missionary Alliance was active, some missionaries of which however turned toward the Assemblies of God, an early American Pentecostal movement that gained influence from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. Secondly, the Yunnan-Tibetan border area, where Europeans soon entered the Sino-Tibetan missionary field, in particular missionaries sent out by the Pentecostal Missionary Union, a British-based enterprise, but recruiting missionaries from Scandinavia and the Netherlands as well. The latter had their geographic base mainly in Lijiang from where they made forays into Tibetan territory and tried to spread the message of the Gospel indirectly through Tibetan traders visiting that town. From the 1930s onwards, German missionaries too were active in Lijiang, working for a German missionary organization right up till 1949. As to the empirical realization of this study: it mainly rests on library and archival research in America, England, Germany and the Netherlands, and as such is expected to yield the source materials that are necessary for answering the main research questions. In addition, it may still prove possible to find oral information from contemporary Tibetans from the areas concerned. Feedback of empirical findings to the theoretical ideas of Harrell regarding his concept of "civilizing project" should establish its degree of explanatory power with regard to the specific history of the Pentecostal-Tibetan encounter in the period 1910-1950.

## **Art in Process**

Tashi, Tsewang, Tibet University

For many years, I was looking forward to a new art language through which I could express my feelings and thoughts—just as other artists do in the international art



circles. I produced works of different styles in previous years. When I analysed them, I found that my development had been affected by changing conditions which were also important for the development of my work now. Like many of my Tibetan artist colleagues, I personally experienced this transformation in my career.

1. Genre photographs and paintings  
My early works were influenced by my education at the art school and art trends of that period. I traveled to many rural areas in Tibet and took a lot of photographs and made some paintings of farmers and nomads, trying to present their lives. Photographs were used as an image source for the paintings together with other drawings and simple colour sketches of nature.

2. Root searching photographs and paintings  
I graduated from the art school in 1984, and in the 1980s traditional Tibetan culture had revived to a certain extent. My colleagues and I were fascinated by this phenomenon. We were discussing a sort of Tibetan cultural renaissance. I read some books on Tibetan culture and started to take rootsearching trips to many of the historical sites in the TAR and other ethnic Tibetan areas. I wanted to find some indigenous Tibetan object, take photographs and make drawings of them and hoped to make new Tibetan art. I traveled to many places in the TAR and ethnic nomadic areas like Amdo Golok. But at the end I found that reality was not same as I had imagined. Jeans, pop music and table tennis were everywhere even in the remote areas. What I was looking for had undergone historical changes. It was a romantic idea rather than reality. Later, I made several works according to the impressions of these trips.

3. Landscape Paintings  
Since 1990, I started to focus on landscapes. My aim was not only to make beautiful landscape paintings, but also treat mountains and rivers as monuments rather than simple landscapes. Through painting landscapes it was possible for me to express my feelings and ideas. I felt that landscapes were a reliable subject, and as readable as a human face. They seemed to be witnesses of history and had stories to tell. Therefore, I took many landscape photographs as a form of documentation and painted many landscapes of Central and Western Tibet.

4. Experiment and new works  
When I went to Europe I had the opportunity of coming in contact with the art of the outside world, particularly Western modern art. I realised that contemporary Tibetan art is marginal vis-a-vis the international mainstream and we have a long way to go. When I first set up my project, I attempted to find a connection between traditional Tibetan art and modern art in order to improve and establish my own art language. But after a while, I realised that there were several problems in this synthesising approach. One of them was how to convey the real meaning of the work in a clear way and I found it was not necessary to emphasise the cultural colour. My understanding is that when you deal with your own feelings and thoughts you will be more close to reality. Then I have refocused my former realistic approach and I use photographs as a source of information from which I derive inspiration. Photography is extensively used as a universal language of art. I like the directness and clarity of photographs. The pho-

tographs I have chosen come from contemporary sources: family members, friends, magazines, etc. They have given me a great chance to break the limitations of a firsthand, naked eye view of the world and the boundaries of time and space, and enabled me to analyse subjects at length. They also serve as a further point of departure and I attempt to combine the camera lens with new techniques to create my own visual expression and move beyond the narrow version of our traditional culture.

## Human-Wildlife Conflict in Chang Tang Highlands

Tsering, Dawa, Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences

The Chang Tang is a vast area of mountains and high desert steppe covering the north and west of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR). The Chang Tang not only represents one of the last unspoiled grassland ecosystems but also harbors a unique assemblage of large mammals, and many of them are endemic to the Tibetan Plateau. Despite its harsh environment and scant forage, thousands of Tibetan antelopes and hundreds of wild yaks were visible at one time. However during recent decades, unrestrained hunting has greatly slaughtered the herds, and most of the species numbers have been reduced substantially. To conserve this unique ecosystem and numerous endemic species, the government designated the Chang Tang as a nature reserve in 1993. The area of the Chang Tang Nature Reserve remained uninhabited, except for a few seasonal pastoralists and hunters, till the second half of the 20th century. Grassland degradation in traditional grazing sites and emphasizing on livestock development are the major reasons of human settlements being established in the best rangelands in the reserve. This exerted great pressure on the limited natural resources (grassland) and increased interaction and conflict between wildlife and local herders. At present, three county seats and over 20 townships are located within the reserve with a total population of nearly 20,000-22,000 inhabitants. The construction of roads has opened the region for outsiders, and the road has made it vulnerable to hunters, miners, casual tourists, rubbish, and a market economy as well. Wildlife such as the Tibetan antelope, wild yak, and the brown bear have for centuries inhabited the northern part of the Chang Tang Nature Reserve. Until a few decades ago, local herders grazed their livestock in the southern areas of the reserve, and there was a minimum interaction between human and wildlife. However, with the recent increase in human population as well as emphasizing on extensive livestock development, large numbers of herders have been moving and settling in the northern areas of the reserve. As a result, the interaction between human and wildlife and the grazing competition between the wildlife and livestock has caused extensive conflict in the reserve. The conflict has become a major social problem and key obstacle for wildlife conservation. Human/wildlife conflict takes place in grazing competition, attack on livestock, damage to food stock and house (tent), and attacking herders. While the conflicts are common, it often results in the loss of lives on both sides.

According to reports from Chang Tang, 4 herders were killed and many injured between 1998-2001 in Nyima county alone, and 134 houses were destroyed and hundreds of sheep and goats were killed in Shuanghu County by brown bears. Local herders repeatedly seek permission to kill brown bears. It is understood that some bears have been killed quietly in remote areas. There is also increasing complaints from the nomads that wild yak create the most danger and severe damage in terms of economic loss and herder's safety. Preservation of the wild yak, brown bear, Tibetan antelope, and other wildlife is crucial for maintaining the biological integrity of the reserve. Addressing human and wildlife conflict stands at the core of building harmony between the nomads and the wildlife. Local government together with international conservation organizations have developed joint projects to tackle key conservation issues such as the conflict in Chang Tang. This paper will bring forward conservation recommendations to reduce and control the negative impact of the conflict based on on-going conservation programs and field survey. The paper will gathering further data on the issue and analyze them to identify effective methods and approaches to resolve the issue.

#### **Tibetan Traditional Medicine Education and Service in the Society**

Tsering, Nyima, Tibetan Medical College

Since over twenty years, the principle of Tibetan traditional medicine education has continued to flourish through traditional teaching methods. With its unique theoretical and cultural features traditional Tibetan medicine has nevertheless also become subject to the requirements of modern society, i.e. the need to adapt to modern standard rules of education, administration, and technologies including quality controls of medical education. In this challenge, the Tibetan Medical College is trying to keep the emphasis on tradition considering it as an advantage, while at the same time absorbing new proposals, such as laying the foundation for new quality research, design a set of teaching materials (textbooks), and experimentation room. Furthermore, the students are practicing their skills in such places as the Tibetan Traditional Medicine Hospital or the Hospital's Medical Factory. Here I would like to stress the importance on doing research for a good textbook design considering both the Tibetan medicine curriculums and the general Western medicine curriculums in English, Chinese, and Tibetan for different levels of student such as Bachelor, Master, and PhD study. Thus, I will outline how our Tibetan Medical College services society in Tibet and other provinces.

#### **An Education Policy on Pastoralism Society In Naqchu County**

Beima, Tsho, Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences

The paper addresses the need for re-consideration on an

ongoing education policy towards to rural nomadic communities, with case study data from the people of Naqchu town, Naqchu County, Tibet Autonomous Regions, PRC in particular. Ethnographic research, contextualised by political and social-economic factors, will provide a more secure foundation for consideration of forces for change from central government strategies. These strategic policies intend standardizing up-down "To send all the children, who live in rural nomadic area, to primary schools for getting The Six Years Primary School Education (Pu Liu). Parents, who do not follow this policy, must pay a fine to local governments" of the nomads. The research does not presume necessity of such strict standards policies and seek a more flexible congruence between schools educating for nomads and conservation for herding culture. New knowledge on nomadic peoples and their economic system relationship with their environment will seek new insights through engagement with political policy makers alongside better understanding of nomadic ways of life.

#### **The Routs of Belongong: Amdo Tibetan Migrants and the Limits of the Chinese Nation**

Vasantkumar, Christopher, University of California – Berkeley

Much attention has been paid in recent anthropological literature on China to the "floating population" (liudong renkou); the evocative name given to the waves of migrant labor flooding the large cities of (mostly) eastern China. Dorothy Solinger<sup>1</sup>, Li Zhang<sup>2</sup> and others have attended to the ways in which these rural migrants are forced to negotiate citizenship under adverse conditions in Beijing, Shanghai and elsewhere. While scholars have focused on differences of class and region within this growing segment of society (see for example Li 2001: 30-31; Solinger 1999: 163), far less attention has been paid to the effects of ethnicity on migration. This oversight has taken two forms; first an inattention to ethnic diversity within the floating population and second and perhaps even more importantly an inattention to the ways in which ethnic difference can serve as both a brake on participation in "mainstream" patterns of migration as well as a basis for the participation in different circuits and conceptions of migration.

Over the course of 13 months of ethnographic research on ethnic difference and national belonging in northwest China, I found that Tibetans from Xiahe, Gannan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu province were much more likely to migrate to refugee Tibetan centers in India in search of both spiritual tutelage and practical training (in English language skills especially) than to migrate to the urban centers of Eastern China (going "to China" as they put it) in search of employment. During my time in Xiahe, I was surprised by the large numbers of Tibetans that I met who had been to India. While predominantly male, returnees were from all walks of life, from wealthy

hoteliers to monks in search of spiritual training. I had naively thought that most if not all Tibetans that had put in the time and effort to undertake the illicit and dangerous journey to India would choose to remain in Tibetan exile centers such as Dharamsala or Darjeeling, basking as it were in the presence of the most famous members of the traditional Tibetan religious hierarchy. Instead I found that while many of the returnees still had friends or family in India, they themselves had chosen to return for various reasons and had since their return been applying skills learned on the Sub-continent to better their lives in China.

Moreover, their Trans-Himalayan sojourns have not necessarily stripped these Tibetan migrants of an impulse to participate in the multi-ethnic Chinese nation-state. Many of the returnees I spoke with still phrased things in terms of "We Chinese" (women zhongguoren) or "Our China's..." (women zhongguo de<sup>3</sup>). Thus I seek to understand these Tibetans not (only) as refugees as they are commonly described but as migrants. My proposed paper seeks to highlight the trans-Himalayan peregrinations of Amdo Tibetans as an alternative pattern of migration in contemporary China and in addition seeks to understand the consequences that such patterns of movement have for understandings of Nation, Belonging (Cultural Citizenship), Tibet and China employed both by my informants as well as by scholars.

In addition to contributing to understandings of migration in contemporary China, this research contributes to broader understandings (and critiques) of the nation as an imagined community. I hope to use this research as a means of casting light on what Danilyn Rutherford has recently referred to as the "limits of the nation"<sup>4</sup>: the degree to which participation in national identity and appeals for full citizenship need not be predicated on a complete acceptance of national ideology. I also hope to address the importance of various kinds of travel to the inculcation of national and ethnic feeling. Here I build on Benedict Anderson's<sup>5</sup> discussion of secular official pilgrimages to look at not simply the roots of national belonging but, crucially, at its \*routes\* in order to gain some purchase on how limited, routed notions of nation and national belonging can enable an analysis that is not fixated on the official mythology of a continuous and uniform Chinese nation.

Finally I seek to expand scholarly analyses of the concept of huaqiao or "Overseas Chinese" to include these communities of Tibetan migrants and returnees. One of the most popular hotels in Xiahe, my main fieldsite, is called the Overseas Tibetan Hotel (huaqiao binguan). How can scholarly understandings of nationalism and trans-nationalism in the context of contemporary China be modified in order to render notions of trans-national yet emphatically national community intelligible? I think that reconceptualizing Chinese-ness in ways no longer tied to particular normative notions of nation and ethnicity are essential. The proposed paper thus seeks to address the consequences of an imagining of Overseas Chinese-ness delinked from Han ethnicity for an

understanding of greater China and greater Tibet as contending yet sometimes complimentary moral desti-nations.

<sup>1</sup> Solinger, Dorothy J. *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China: Peasant Migrants, the State, and the Logic of the Market*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Li Zhang, *Strangers in the City: Reconfigurations of Space, Power and Social Networks Within China's Floating Population*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Shanghai shi women zhongguo de zui xiandai de difang. "Shanghai is our China's most modern place."

## Tibetan Perspectives on the Cultural Revolution

Willock, Nicole, University of Indiana

The monastic scholars Tshe tan Zhabs drung 'jigs med Rigs pa'i Blo gros (1910-1985), Dmu dge Bsam gtan Rgya mtsho (1914-1993) and Dge bshes chos kyi grags pa (1898-1972) experienced the Cultural Revolution which swept across the People's Republic of China from 1966-1976. Tshe tan Zhabs drung 'jigs med Rigs pa'i Blo gros' and Dmu dge Bsam gtan Rgya mtsho's autobiographies as well as autobiographical material found in a biography on Dge bshes chos kyi grags pa serve to illustrate their responses to this Chinese ideological movement. Through poetry, dream analysis, and the internalization of Buddhist cosmology, their life stories reveal an outlook and assessment of the Cultural Revolution very different from the prevailing Chinese perspective.

## Herders to Hunter. The Mushrooming Fungi Market on the Tibetan Plateau

Winkler, Daniel, Independent Scholar

For centuries Tibetans have collected and traded medicinal and culinary mushrooms. The recent improvements in communication and the increased commodification of natural resources in addition to globalization have caused a mushrooming of the fungus industry. The market is dominated by Caterpillar Fungus (*Cordyceps sinensis*) and Matsutake (*Tricholoma matsutake*); an array of other mushrooms (*Auricularia*, *Boletus*, *Cantharellus*, *Ganoderma*, *Herichium*, *Lactarius*, *Leccinum*, *Morchella*, *Ramaria*, *Rozipes*, and *Sarcodon*) is of much lesser economic importance. While Matsutake resources have only been exploited seriously since the 1990s, the collection and trade of yartsa gunbu (dbyar rtsa dgun 'bu), "summer grass-winter worm" as the Caterpillar fungus is known to Tibetans (Pinyin: dongchong xiacao), dates back centuries. Written records documenting medicinal use of *Cordyceps sinensis* date back 500 years in Tibet. Field studies in Ganzi TAP, Sichuan (1999-2004), Dechen TAP, Yunnan (2001) as well as Nyingchi (Linshi) and Chamdo (Changdu) Prefecture, Tibet AR (2005) analyze collection, local markets and their participants, and the quantity and value of the harvest. With economic liberalization yartsa gunbu has developed into the most important source of income for rural Tibetan households. Its value steadily increases. While individual specimens were sold for 1-5 Yuan in 1999, in 2005 the prize rose to 7-20 Yuan. In Lhasa prices peaked at 48,500 Yuan/kg (\$6,000) for the best quality in summer 2005. The



market is mainly driven by demand from Han Chinese, be it within PRC or outside. Involved in yartsa collection are communities in Tibet AR, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan, who have access to rich alpine grasslands. Similarly, communities with access to evergreen oak forests, the main distribution area for matsutake, derive their main cash income from this macrofungi, which is mostly exported to Japan. However, the distribution area (certain valleys in Nyingchi, Chamdo, Ganzi, Aba, and Dechen Prefectures) of matsutake is much smaller than the area of yartsa. Also, the matsutake price is more stable through the years. Collectors receive on the average 60-100 Yuan/kg, fluctuations based on quality and season range from 20-500 Yuan/kg. Substantially increasing pressure on fungal resource raises concerns regarding the sustainability of current harvesting rates. While there are some scientific studies suggesting that ecto-mycorrhizal fungi, such as *Tricholoma* and *Cantharellus*, can be harvested sustainably using appropriate techniques, there is hardly

any scientific knowledge regarding sustainable collection of Cordyceps. Collection pressure is steadily increasing. For example, Dengchen County (Tibet AR) mobilized 37,000 of its 63,000 inhabitants for the 2005 collection season. While collectors and dealers are concerned about increased competition, hardly any informant worried about future harvests. The Chinese Central Government needs to provide funding for scientific long-term studies on sustainability of harvesting techniques to secure the resource for the future. The current license system needs to be standardized and regulations developed to ensure resource protection. The mushrooming fungi trade is of immense importance for rural communities offering badly needed cash income to pay for health, school and goods. The fungal income enables rural households, which are too often neglected in current development schemes, to hold on to their lifestyle and participate in a world transformed by commodification. Everything possible needs to be done to secure these resources for generations to come.

